

ENGAGING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AS LANDSCAPES OF PLACE:
RECONCEPTUALISING URBAN COMMUNITIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
IN SITU UPGRADING

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

1 August 2013

Abstract

This study investigates the role of space and place in urban informal settlement upgrading. The key aim is a better understanding of the character and functionality of informal communities through their social processes. There is a large body of literature on the social, economic and spatial consequences of informal settlement's ongoing role of housing the urban poor. This study uses an ethnographic approach to investigate the spaces and places which result from the need based social relations and political agency of the informal residents. This genre of need reflects Lefebvre's description of the tangible and intangible necessities that contribute to individuals' livelihood and well-being.

The study explores the philosophical thinking around spatial production and the meaning of place. It builds on the works of Heidegger, Lefebvre, and Deleuze and Guattari who attribute value to everyday social process and its role in producing space. Deleuze and Guattari's relational language is used to articulate the fluidity with which informality engages formality through the rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territorialisation of daily use, leading to a rethinking of boundary and edge. Critically, the study also draws on the historic and present elements of time as it relates to space for this group of thinkers. The time/space dynamics of hope lost through waiting for upgrading and hope gained through impatience, political agency and action, add layers of complexity to these spaces. Implied in the first dynamic is an acceptance of the *status quo*, passive inclusion into South Africa's democratic society through the eventual provision of housing. The second is an insurgent demand for socio-economic rights and societal transformation as guaranteed by the Constitution (Holston, 1998).

The resultant qualitative data from two informal settlements in greater Johannesburg unravels the logic behind informal spatial production *via* relational connections which articulate space as a product of informal residents' social actions. This spatial understanding suggests a shift away from current spatial models employed by the State in its formal provision of subsidised housing. At the same time, it strengthens informal communities' role in the upgrading process by giving value to the social qualities of place in existing living environments.

Dedicated to G. A. Forster.

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Contents

DECLARATION
ABSTRACT
DEDICATION
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
LIST OF FIGURES
LIST OF TABLES
LIST OF ACRONYMS

chapter 01	INTRODUCTION
	Introduction...12
section01.1	Globalization, developing cities and informal settlement upgrading...14
section01.1.1	Setting the stage for the international embrace of site-and-service development...15
section01.1.2	From self-help housing to site-and-service housing delivery...16
section01.2	Looking back: the dilemma of informal settlements and how it got to this point...20
section01.3	Looking forward: the rationale for this study...23
section01.4	Outlining the aims of this study...26
section01.5	Articulating the research question that guides this research discussion...28
section01.6	Situating the critical terms of place and space in the context of this study...28
section01.6.1	Defining place and space...29
section01.6.2	Defining place and space through social and cultural norms...32
section01.7	A preview of the study's research methodology...34
section01.8	A brief chapter synopsis illustrating the study's construct...36
	Conclusion...37
chapter 02	ARTICULATING THE COMPLEXITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE
	Introduction...38
section02.1	The perception of informality: teasing "informal settlement" out of the larger "slum" discourse...39
section02.2	Contemporary use of the pejorative "slum" term further entrenches the long history of the reductionist formal/informal binary model...44
section02.3	Stepping back from the 'urban catastrophe genre': rethinking informality as a an urban process...52
section02.4	Two further schools of thought on informality: subaltern and insurgency...60
section02.4.1	Subalternity and the agency of the urban poor...60
section02.4.2	Insurgence: the urban poor staking their claim to the city...63
section02.5	The formal/informal binary response: does this model equate to urban spatial partition?...67

section02.6	Informal settlement as an element of an integrated urban development process...75
section02.7	Can insurgency development become a model to achieve heteroglossic cities?...82
	Conclusion...84
chapter 03	UNDERSTANDING THE CHARACTER OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT AND OF UPGRADING EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
	Introduction...87
section03.1	The formal/informal development model as a means to urban spatial control...89
section03.1.1	Spatial partition as a corollary of dichotomy in the urban landscape...90
section03.1.2	State-sanctioned relocation and spatial formalization as an approach to "upgrading"...96
section03.2	The evolution of urban spatial form through need, technocratic intervention and participatory practices...101
section03.2.1	The spatial consequences of tolerance: when informal development serves the residents and the state...102
section03.2.2	Spatial development through hegemonic bridge building: how the relationships of the state, NGOs, and civic movements have shaped the urban landscape through symptomatic upgrading...116
section03.3	Insurgent urban development: defiance and the demand of access to full citizenship spatially reflected in the city landscape...120
section03.3.1	Shaping the urban landscape from the bottom up...121
section03.3.2	Challenging the <i>status quo</i> : <i>in situ</i> upgrading on the terms of independent civil movements...127
	Conclusion...130
chapter 04	INFORMAL PLACES AMID GLOBALIZED GEOGRAPHIES: A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION OF THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE, POWER, AND 'RIGHT TO THE CITY'
	Introduction...133
section04.1	Revisiting how we think about place...136
section04.2	Power structures and informal housing environments...150
section04.3	Urban citizens and their right to the city...154
section04.4	A summary of the illuminations, questions, and speculations revealed in this exploration of theory...158
	Conclusion...164
chapter 05	METHODOLOGY: ARTICULATING THE RESEARCH PARADIGM
	Introduction...167
section05.1	Finding an epistemological approach to fieldwork and data analysis...168
section05.1.1	A discussion on methodology: matching research strategy to fieldwork style and context...168
section05.1.2	Case study approach and site selection...173
section05.1.3	Capturing the local context: choosing the appropriate means of data collection...175
section05.2	Summary of fieldwork: design, successes and pitfalls...180

section05.2.1	Practical preparations and fieldwork design...181
section05.2.2	The realities of the fieldwork experience...186
	Conclusion...189
chapter 06	THE CASE STUDY LOCALE: EKURHULENI AS URBAN CONTEXT AND THE FIELDWORK SITES
	Introduction...191
section06.1	The study's urban context: Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality...192
section06.1.1	A spatial background of Ekurhuleni...194
section06.1.2	The reinvention of Ekurhuleni: space and identity...197
section06.1.3	Space and urban competitiveness...200
section06.2	The case study sites: Harry Gwala and Makause informal settlements...204
section06.2.1	Harry Gwala...206
section06.2.2	Makause...209
	Conclusion...212
chapter 07	UNDERSTANDING INFORMAL SETTLEMENT THROUGH PHYSICAL CHARACTER, SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND DWELLING
	Introduction...214
section07.1	Defining the settlements' spatial territory and character through residents' habitual engagement with urban built form...215
section07.1.1	Territorialising the formal city: how informal residents address exclusion and fragmentation...216
section07.1.2	Informal settlement typologies, CBD versus township: do residents take cues from the surrounding environment?...219
section07.2	Bridging and bonding: social activities and processes within the settlements' spatial region...221
section07.2.1	Defining the mechanism and character of the informal edge...222
section07.2.2	Bonding capital and the attachment to place...225
section07.3	Dwelling: capturing the place of settlements in their dynamic of space and time...231
section07.3.1	Where is home?...232
section07.3.2	Home: space versus place and how this leads to community morphology...234
	Conclusion...242
chapter 08	UNDERSTANDING INFORMAL RESIDENTS' EXPECTATIONS: HOPE, DEMOCRACY AND SPACE
	Introduction...244
section08.1	Acknowledging the role of time in informal socio-spaces...246
section08.1.1	Residents' expectations: how waiting impacts space...247
section08.2	Examining informal residents' agency and their role in <i>in situ</i> upgrading...251
section08.2.1	Scalar influences: the impact of social movements and the state on informal settlement...252
section08.2.2	Networking and legal action...258
section08.2.3	The Constitutional Court's decision on <i>Nokotyana v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality</i> : Time versus socio-economic rights...260
section08.2.4	Ekurhuleni's chemical toilet rollout: a case of failed democracy from the top down and the bottom up...263

section08.2.5	Harry Gwala and the process of realising the politics of hope...265
	Conclusion...268
chapter 09	FINDINGS AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION
	Introduction...270
section09.1	Revisiting my research process...270
section09.1.1	Reconstructing the research question...270
section09.1.2	How did the conceptual framework support the research question?...277
section09.1.3	How did the methodology support the research question?...279
section09.2	Contributions to knowledge...281
section09.2.1	How is this study useful to the larger dialog on <i>in situ</i> upgrading?...282
section09.2.2	Areas for further study...285
	Conclusion...287
REFERENCES	References...289
	Personal communications...310
	Cited interviews...311
APPENDICES	A: Human Research Ethics committee clearance...313
	B: Interview tables from Harry Gwala (2008 and 2010) and Makause (2008 and 2010)...314
	C: Harry Gwala community design project...316

List of Figures

Figure

- 01.1: Self-governing versus centrally administered housing...17
- 01.2: Defining the concept social as a subset of cultural...33
- 02.1: Township versus informal settlement morphologies...72
- 02.2: Alternative housing typologies proposed by Mills...72
- 02.3: The pattern of communication between women in a group of houses in the informally developed area of George...76
- 02.4: The pattern of communication between women in a group of houses on individual stands in the formally developed area of George...77
- 02.5: The 'thinking machine' is a methodology to analyze empirical data...78
- 03.1: The segregation of the black population in Johannesburg...93
- 03.2: Model of an ideal apartheid city...93
- 03.3: Meadowlands...98
- 03.4: Zevenfontein 2007 after clearing...99
- 03.5: Informal settlements in the Johannesburg area in the 1940s...104
- 03.6: Sophiatown...105
- 03.7: Zevenfontein 2005 a) showing a creche, b) a consolidated dwelling and c) communal gathering area...107
- 03.8: Documented typology of a RDP dwelling with fenced stand, backyard shacks and a piggybacked toilet in Diepsloot township...115
- 03.9: Sofazonke settlement resulting from the Mpanza led land invasion outside Orlando in 1944...122
- 03.10: The late 1940s forced clearing of Sofazonke...122
- 06.1: Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni spatial context map...194
- 06.2: Ekurhuleni 2011 MSDP approved spatial development corridors...199
- 06.3: Ekurhuleni logo...201
- 06.4: EMM's spatial plans for the aerotropolis development model...203
- 06.5: The case study sites in historical and current spatial context...206
- 06.6: Red boundaries indicate forced clearing and shack evictions in Harry Gwala in 2004 and the subsequent fencing of the privately owned area...207
- 06.7: Harry Gwala's spatial context...209
- 06.8: Makause's spatial context...210
- 06.9: Red boundary indicates area of forced evictions and shack clearing in Makause, 2007...211
- 07.1: The *de facto* boundary for employment opportunities...218
- 07.2: The *de facto* education boundary of Harry Gwala...218
- 07.3: The *de facto* healthcare boundary of Harry Gwala...218
- 07.4: The *de facto* spiritual boundary of Harry Gwala...218
- 07.5: The urban taxi as a purveyor of formal/informal engagement...219
- 07.6: Stands in Harry Gwala with vegetable gardens and medicinal gardens...221
- 07.7: Makause and Harry Gwala edges...223
- 07.8: Spatial quality of sound shifts...224
- 07.9: Makause's consumer practices shift the community edge...225
- 07.10: Harry Gwala youth group having a community cleanup day...227
- 07.11: Places of origin of residents from Harry Gwala and Makause settlements...233
- 07.12: John Dumsane Simelane's Harry Gwala stand layout...234
- 07.13: Examples of the level of care given to private spaces in Harry Gwala...236

07.14:	Makause open space...	237
07.15:	Makause rental structure...	238
07.16:	Harry Gwala stand morphologies...	239
07.17:	Makause stand morphologies...	239
07.18:	Makause interviewees' stands with ornamental gardens...	240
08.1:	Miriam Gwala's consolidated house and garden in Harry Gwala...	249
08.2:	Nancy Maapola's flower garden and brick dwelling...	250
08.3:	Community engagement with Harry Gwala...	266

List of Tables

Table

- 03.1: Post apartheid South Africa's predominant approaches to upgrading...99
- 03.2: A summary of South Africa's 2004 progressive housing policies...111
- 03.3: Average wait periods of household members for state-subsidized housing benefit...113
- 03.4: Two forms of upgrading...116
- 03.5: *In situ* upgrading deciphered in 'Divergent interpretations of 'upgrading' in South Africa...129
- 05.1: Comparison showing the differences and yet circularity of positivism and reflexivism...171
- 05.2: Fieldwork time table for work in the field...182
- 05.3: Case study interviews...184
- 05.4: Government housing interviews...185
- 05.5: Non-government interviews...186
- 06.1: Stakeholders and Stakes...205
- 08.1: The timeline of Harry Gwala's socio-spatial history and significant dates...265

List of Acronyms

African National Conference	ANC
Anti-Eviction Campaign	AEC
Breaking New Ground	BNG
Central Business District	CBD
Department of Housing	DOH
Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality	EMM
Fédération Internationale de Football Association	FIFA
Federation of the Urban Poor	FEDUP
Growth, Employment and Redistribution	GEAR
Harry Gwala Civic Committee	HGCC
Informal Settlement Network	ISN
International Labour Office	ILO
International Monetary Fund	IMF
Landless People's Movement	LPM
Local Government White Paper	LGWP
Makause Community Development Forum	MCDF
Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework	MSDF
Millennium Development Goals	MDG
National Upgrading Support Programme	NUSP
Non-governmental Organisation	NGO
Reconstruction and Development Program	RDP
Shack/Slum Dwellers International	SDI
Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa	SERI
Subaltern Studies Collective	SSC
Urban Development Strategy	UDS
United Nations	UN
World Bank	WB

chapter 01 INTRODUCTION

Introduction

To date, housing provision for the urban poor has proven as difficult a challenge in post-apartheid South Africa as in other developing countries around the world. Urban histories show that informality has invariably been present in the evolution of cities, this does little, however, to mitigate current issues of rising urban populations and inadequate urban housing stocks. It does, however, beg the question: is there a social richness of place found in the organic development of informality that should be preserved in the process of urban development? And if so, how do these spaces correspond with municipal, provincial and national agendas in the arena of contemporary urban development? To the chagrin of many policy makers with aspirations of competitive, world class cities, informal shack communities continue to expand. Some argue that their continued existence reflects a state of need and therefore validates their role in the urban landscape (Pithouse, 2008b among others). Others suggest that shack communities have become a *status quo* housing solution in South Africa, a queue for the State's housing provision backlog (Miraftab, 2009).

Informality and its role in today's urban housing stock are the context within which this study examines informal space and the social processes that form it; in other words, the urban poor's living environments and their practices of urban engagement in search of livelihoods. Mugavin's (1999:95) suggestion of a post-modern 'rediscovery of the importance of place', which he argues involves the active dynamic of history, power relations, geographies, sociology, architecture and nomadism, is at its core. As such, it is the wellspring for the first half of the study in which reviews of South African and international literature form the basis of spatial explorations into the influence of: global economic and development trends on the perception of urban poverty as "slums" rather than informal settlements; the meaning of informality through an exploration of development models; and how the thinking around these development models at different historical stages is spatially reflected in South African cities. Through the course of these discussions the study finds footing in: the ideas of a democratic right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 2005,

2008); the urban poor's struggle to access the implied rights of democratic urban citizenship (Holston, 1998, 2009); the idea of a city as an amalgamation of imbricating socio-spatial tiles (Mbembe, 2000); and the notion that socio-spatial relationships frame the platform from which informal residents engage with the city in their livelihood endeavours (Simone, 2004).

Holston and Caldeira's (2008:18) assertion that informal residents 'inhabit modern metropolises on better terms than those imposed by the powerful local and international [development] forces', acknowledges the macro/micro development dynamics at play in these spaces and points to the essence of this study: understanding the socio-spatial functionality of urban informal settlement. This nod to the informal residents is neither what Roy (2004) criticises as the aestheticisation of poverty¹ nor a reframing of de Soto's (2000:37) 'heroic entrepreneur', but rather an amplification of the 'social, political and economic narratives' (Roy, 2004:299) that surround the living environments of the urban poor. A further understanding of this phenomenon on these terms begins to unlock the conundrum of informal settlement upgrading. This study also takes into consideration Harms' (2010:19) assertion that developing cities in the South 'have to be seen and theoretically analysed as a different set of urban models' from those in the North.

To appropriately address these issues, the thesis is broken into two parts with a transitional chapter in between. Part one develops a dialogue on informality. It uses politico-economic and socio-spatial concepts as themes to articulate the domestic and international perceptions, influences and realities of the urban poor's living environments. Four development models: the formal/informal binary; informality as an urban process; subalternism; and insurgency planning are used in Chapters 02 and 03 to structure this discussion. They explore how global and local politics and their spatial policies and practices; Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and international development agencies as well as local social movements influence informal communities. This leads to the study's point of transition, an examination of spatial theory and philosophy. It is here that I construct the conceptual framework

¹ Roy (2004) references this reading of the aestheticisation of poverty to Walter Benjamin's understanding of that term as discussed in Buck-Morss (1991) *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*.

with which to process the fieldwork data. Part two begins with an outline of the study's methodology and an introduction to the urban context of the two case study fieldwork sites. It then goes on to use empirical data to characterise the socio-spatial functionality of these settlements. Finally, through revisiting key elements of the study, I suggest contributions that this body of research makes toward the larger dialogue on informal settlement upgrading.

section01.1 Globalisation, developing cities and informal settlement upgrading

The second half of the 20th century became increasingly influenced by the global institutions that were established in response to the violations of the Second World War. It was believed that the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations (UN) would provide international economic and normative forums, initially for post-war recovery but with the bigger concept of enabling global security. Appadurai (2007:31) suggests that this was the turning point when 'a new emphasis on equality as a measure of social welfare' made 'the elimination of global poverty a fundamental test of universal social policy'. This led to what Giovannini (2008:255) terms 'human security' as the face of international development in the closing decades of the 20th century. On the one hand were the Bretton Woods institutions favouring the global-North's political philosophy of neoliberalism with its principles of 'private entrepreneurship' and 'profit-maximisation', which, through the power of the free market would become the avenue to lift millions out of poverty in the developing global-South (Steger and Roy, 2010:118). To this end, they provided loans for urban development and upgrading projects. On the other hand, the UN was advocating the establishment of the 'conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations... [of] social progress and better standards of life...to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people' (UN, 1945:preamble) were to be achieved. This evolved into the 1978 establishment of the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (UN-Habitat) with a vision that included the norms to 'promote socially and environmentally sustainable settlement development' and to 'achieve...adequate shelter for all', and later, the 'improvement in the lives of slum dwellers' (UN-Habitat, 2007:preamble). Its *modus operandi* was and continues to be the provision of technical and policy advice. As a result of this group of institutions, the fortunes of many local urban development projects have

become heavily influenced by international trends and mandates. And as Giovannini (2008:255) among others points out, it has resulted in the problematic trend of the 'translation' of human security into 'a set of quantifiable indicators'.

This section begins by setting the stage for the international embrace of the site-and-service/self-help development model. It then goes on to explore John Turner's notion on self-help housing, which was the basis for this model. The relevance of this discussion is then shown with a review of South Africa's current revisiting of the site-and-service model as a strategy to eradicate "slums" by 2014, an example of the country's nod to the UN/World Bank Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

section 01.1.1 Setting the stage for the international embrace of site-and-service development

In this day and age of international development agencies, international investment, international NGOs and global banking, it would be remiss to have a discussion about developing cities and informality without acknowledging global influences. Harms (2010:3) describes how in recent decades influential leaders from the global-North have been responsible for pushing the 'neoliberal dogma of market orthodoxy' with the view to removing the barriers to capital investment in developing countries. He further suggests that 'demands for privatisation of public services (water, electricity and gas)' and 'reducing the role of the state (often with coercive pressure)' set the stage for international corporate takeovers (*ibid.*:3). These changes, along with economic deregulation, often require a loosening of trade restrictions and austerity changes to social spending as a part of 'structural adjustment programmes' (Steger and Roy, 2010:119). In other words, beginning in the 1980s government restructuring in line with neoliberal doctrine became a conditional part of World Bank (WB) development loans (*ibid.*). This has led to complex and conflicting global relations characterised by interdependence and exclusion. Critics of this global free market approach took heart listening to President Obama's (2009:no page number) inaugural address which, while acknowledging the economic market's potency to bring about change, questioned the level to which this economic paradigm has prevailed over the past thirty years: 'Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis [the global recession] has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control'.

On the same stage as global development, but with a different mandate, is the UN. Giovannini (2008:256) describes this agency as the 'norm entrepreneur'. The driving force behind their model, she explains, is a 'logic of collective empowerment over global issues' (*ibid.*:256). In 1990 the UN chose to distance its development strategies from those of the World Bank. Instead it moved toward the notion of Human Development, which 'was based on the idea of development as a process of expanding people's choices rather than a means to generate national economic growth' (*ibid.*:258). To this end, their focus became: the generation of international norms of policy and practice; educating through the distribution of international Human Development reports; and keeping track of levels of quality of life around the globe using the Human Development Index. With this in mind, Giovannini (2008:258) argues that the MDGs as a strategy should be viewed 'not just...for what it may or may not deliver but also has to be considered in light of its broader normative framework'. Placing this notion in the South African context, Huchzermeyer (2011) points out that the national government has done just the opposite. South Africa's 'invented MDG "obligation" to achieve "slum free" cities by 2014' underlines a problematic quantitative delivery mindset (*ibid.*:3). It also represents a shift to policies and modes of development that are driven by private sector development, cost recovery and international best practices (Giovannini, 2008; Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009; Harms, 2010; Huchzermeyer, 2011).

section 01.1.2 From self-help housing to site-and-service housing delivery

Since the early 1970s the World Bank has financially supported settlement upgrading. Pugh (1995) and Abbott (2002), among others, suggest that the WB methodology of urban development has largely been one of symptomatic infrastructural improvements using the site-and-service model. Huchzermeyer (2012) points out that this evolved to include tenure regularisation as a socio-economic avenue towards empowerment. The WB's site-and-service paradigm was largely modelled on the work that John Turner published in the early 1970s based on the self-help practices he observed in Latin America. As Bromley (2003) points out, this work was largely drawn from three contrasting schools of thought at that time in Peru. First, Fernando Belaúnde, who advocated the local resolution of housing problems with state subsidised communal housing blocks. Second, Pedro Beltrán's

support of private sector site-and-service plans. And third, Carlos Delgado's efforts to combine rural, urban and regional planning into a foundation for bottom up development. Drawing from these, Turner's (1968, 1972 and 1976, among others) strong voice against mass housing projects emerged. He advocated leaving the control of design and management in the hands of the low-income dwellers. The cornerstone of his paradigm is the idea that 'the most important architectural advantage of the squatters' procedure is the consequent adaptability of space and structures to the changing needs and behaviour patterns of the family' (Turner, 1968:360).

In his iconic work, *Housing as a Verb*, Turner (1972:158) states: '[t]he best results are obtained by the user who is in full control of the design, construction, and management of his own home'. He goes on to say that, '[a] squatter with a suitable building plot and secure tenure' (*ibid.*:158) can build a house at half the cost of a government agency. Martin (1984:32) summarises the concept underlying John Turner's approach thus: '[the] social and physical gains offered by an evolutionary and autonomous approach to housing (without state controls) in the slogans "Freedom to Build" and "Housing is a Verb"'. Martin (1984:33) goes on to state that, 'John Turner has pointed out, a shack in the hands of an owner occupier need not be a slum, but a mass housing scheme built to a high standard can be a slum'. Figure 01.1 highlights the shift from public to user sectors that Turner (1976) deems necessary for this to occur.

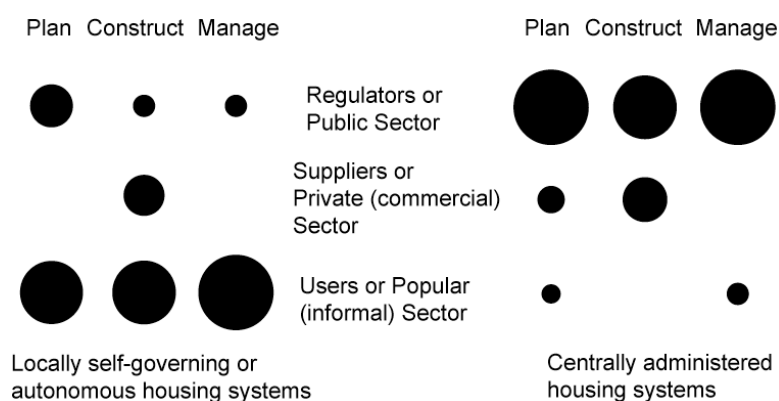


Figure 01.1: Self-governing versus centrally administered housing (reproduced from Turner, 1976:29).

It is further illustrated in his description of a case study informal settlement in Mexico City:

'[t]he shack was occupied by a young car painter temporarily supporting his wife and small children as a rag picker. The house was occupied by a sick and semi-employed mason, his underemployed wife and their student son. The shack was a highly supportive environment for the car painter's family, while the house was an excessively oppressive environment for the others. This apparent paradox, created by false values and confused language, is a very common one, especially in the majority of low-income countries' Turner (1976:52).

Pugh (1995) suggests that a variation on these concepts became the basis for the World Bank's site-and-service model. The Bank's global influence had a twofold impact on housing policy trends: first it linked site-and-service and upgrading as a parallel approach; and second it put physical infrastructure at the centre of settlement improvement efforts (Abbott, 2002). However, Harris (2003) asserts that Turner was against these large scale projects because they required residents' capital buy-in and agreement to building standards. This effectively took the control out of their hands. While Turner's name has become synonymous with self-help housing, Harris (2003) argues that in fact his major contribution is the idea of spatial and functional autonomy for low-income dwellers. Further, Harris (2003) insists the criticality of John Turner's fundamental notion that informal settlements are a housing solution, not a housing problem. This, he maintains is what separated John Turner from many of the other thinkers on informality at that time (*ibid.*). Huchzermeyer (2004) points out that current self-help development norms reflect two significant changes from Turner's theory. First, the 'transfer[al of] responsibilities for housing that had traditionally rested with the state' have been shifted 'onto the poor themselves' (*ibid.*:30). And second, 'the World Bank [has] moulded the self-help approach to its own neoliberal framework', which in effect takes autonomy away from informal dwellers (*ibid.*:30). This suggests that the Bank's focus on physical infrastructure and site-and-service provision caused a subordinating of informal dwellers' spatial use and community development, which in practice commandeered rather than supported the communities.

Not everyone at that time was convinced by the self-help concept. This is exemplified by Harms's (1976) questioning of the poor's capacity for housing production. He asserts that Turner's slogan 'freedom to build' is an aestheticisation and would be more appropriately written 'necessary to survive' (*ibid.*:230). Harms (1976) suggests that the underlying assumptions of self-help housing are flawed. First, he claims that the idea of autonomy 'implies a freedom of choice' which he

argues most poor don't have (*ibid.*:231). Second, he counters the idea of the poor saving and investing in household improvements, insisting that this will reinforce the poverty cycle. And third, he contends that the basic assumption to minimise the role of the state and maximise the individual's involvement 'underlines how simplistic the self-help argument is' (*ibid.*: 231). Math  y's (1992) later review of self-help housing in African and Latin American cites, which entails multiple empirical studies from the interim period, backs up much of what Harms (1976) foresaw. Math  y (1992: 388) suggests that the value of Turner's work is that it brought alternative ideas to the table, drawing 'politicians attention to the shelter problem of the poor, to stop many eradication programmes, and to acknowledge a housing right of the poor internationally'.

This discussion is relevant to this thesis because of contemporary South Africa's renewed interest in this model. In 2005, Housing Minister Sisulu (2005:no page number) stated: 'in line with our commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals we...reiterate our commitment to progressively eradicate slums in the ten year period ending in 2014'. Given the seemingly inevitable failure of this goal, a 2007 World Bank report put forth the option of instituting site-and-service/self-help strategies (Lall, van den Brink, Leresche and Dasgupta, 2007). The authors argued that this would speed up the roll-out. However, they also pointed out that 'severe capacity constraints' would allow 'private developers to step in' (*ibid.*:26). Two years later, with South Africa still considering revisiting the idea of site-and-service provision, Del Mistro and Hensher (2009) outline its political dilemma. On the one hand, if the State continues to confront the housing backlog with its current approach 'doubling the budget will achieve ["slum" eradication] by only 2030'. On the other hand, while policy allows for housing alternatives, given the African National Congress' (ANC) legacy of promises for a house on a serviced stand, other options are considered politically unacceptable (*ibid.*:333). This political unacceptability is rooted in South Africa's 1994 regime change; after decades of oppressive socio-spatial control, post-apartheid housing provision is entangled with the poor's expectations of democracy, empowerment and social transformation (Pithouse, 2012). The empirical evidence in part two of this thesis will show that the expectation of a house from the State is strong. Further, the data infers that it contributes to the

lack of consolidation seen in South Africa's urban informal settlements that do not reflect the consolidation trends seen in such places as Turkey (Baharoglu and Leitmann, 1998) and Brazil (Holston and Caldeira, 2008).

Harms (2010) suggests that the global embrace of neoliberal economic trends and the level of influence of the tripartite economic institutions not only benefits the elite classes and international corporate giants, but also functions to increase the informal housing and economic strategies of the poor. It is telling of the extent to which private sector capital investment has been drawn to developing countries that in Harm's (2010) TRIALOG review of the past 25 years of urban development, two of the references are publications by the international investment firms Goldman Sachs and Merrill Lynch. Both Mathey (1992) and Harms (1976, 2010) insist that, given the current capitalist system, conflicting interests and political motivations must become part of the dialogue. Given the role that the World Bank has played in spreading neoliberalism *vis-à-vis* opening capital markets and increasing private sector investment, it is not surprising that Huchzermeyer (2012:785) points out that even its non-political mandate critics 'identif[y] the Bank as implicitly political'.

section01.2 Looking back: the dilemma of informal settlements and how it got to this point

This section introduces the study's exploration of informality and the role of informal communities in developing cities. As such, it begins to define the socio-economic context within which this spatial study unfolds.

The upgrading of informal settlements is a twofold issue; consolidating the communities is one aspect and maintaining desirable locations in the city is the other. Consolidation includes the provision of basic necessities, including services, social amenities and dwelling improvements, without damaging the settlement's established social functionality. Location supports residents' easy and affordable access to the social, cultural, livelihood and educational benefits available to urban citizens. As in many developing cities around the world, both consolidation and location concerns are proving problematic to urban development in post-apartheid South Africa. Chapter 03 will expand on their urban development policy in support of the consolidation of informal settlements through *in situ* upgrading, which was added

into the Housing Code in 2004. Although there were cases of *in situ* upgrading in the late apartheid era (Charlton, 2006), post-apartheid municipalities have failed to embrace or implement this approach. Instead the more prevalent approach is relocation to greenfield housing projects. Many argue that this practice has further entrenched fragmented cities where the poor find themselves spatially peripheralised and therefore unable to readily access urban benefits (e.g. Dewar, 1984; Turok, 2000; Perlman, 2010). However, Todes (2003:119) questions this, pointing out that there is a 'need to embrace the diversity of housing needs, which includes both large plots on the periphery, and access to cheap accommodation in central areas, among others'. She warns that in the debate on urban compaction, given the socio-economic divisions in South Africa's society, forced integration can become a grey area of social engineering (*ibid.*). Perlman's (1976) and Castells's (1983) work in Latin America shows us that South Africa's spatial patterns are not unique; land value can prove equally as spatially divisive as racial segregation. Some suggest that whether through state-sanctioned relocation or individuals' economic capacity, the draw of the urban periphery is the availability and low cost of land. Todes, Pillay and Kronje (2003) and Todes (2003) propose that under the right circumstances it can prove an appropriate housing response.

With this movement toward the spatial periphery comes the parallel concept of social marginality. Bayat (1997:60 quoting Freud, 1961 and Durkheim, 1971) mentions the Chicago school's idea, which he implies politicians tend to adopt, of 'marginals' (the poor) as 'outlaws and criminals, and their communities as bastions of "rural parochialism" and "traditionalism"' adding their opinion that this "deviance"...can be corrected...by "modernising" them'. In the course of his studies on urban informality in the Middle East, Bayat (1997) explores the concepts of 'marginals', 'marginality' and 'modern man', comparing the theories of the Chicago school to those of Perlman (1976) and Castells (1983). He shows that Perlman (1976) and Castells (1983) ardently counter that school, insisting that the poor are in reality well integrated in city life. Bayat (1997:60) distills their ideas and finds commonality in the assumption that 'integrated man' equates to 'modern man', and from this, he makes his own suggestion that informal city dwellers are neither 'traditional and isolated' nor 'fully integrated'. Instead he suggests that in reality their lack of ability to better engage

with the institutions of the modern city is a result of self-proclaimed autonomy resulting from their vulnerability. Decades later Perlman (2010) returns to the place of her original study, the *favelas* of Brazil, and revisits this question of marginality. Her conclusions are less optimistic, suggesting that improvements in material well-being have not diminished the poor's state of marginality. She found that there is an 'ongoing multigenerational struggle to "become *gente*"—literally to become a person, to move from invisible to visible or from nonentity to a respected human being' (*ibid.*: 7).

It was the dynamic between the vulnerability associated with poverty and oppression, and the access which comes with full citizenship that was at stake in the 1994 democratic election in South Africa. After the election, Nelson Mandela introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a policy framework on which to build the democratic future of the country. The first Key Programme was Meeting Basic Needs, in which housing was identified (ANC, 1994a:1.4.1, 1.4.2). Significantly, this document links the rights to the city and all its benefits with citizenship. To this end, the Department of Housing proclaimed its intent to establish and maintain 'habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities' (Department of Housing, 1997:4), which suggested a holistic and inclusive approach towards all urban residents. However, as will be shown in Chapters 02 and 03, the influence of global economic and development trends from this point onwards created a shift in South Africa's domestic policies. A pivotal change occurred in 1996 when development strategies were modified from the socially-based RDP to the market-based Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). In terms of spatial equity in the urban landscape this brought the real estate market and land value squarely into the discussion on informal settlements. Also impacting this discussion, and the future of South Africa's urban spatial form, was the 1995 Urban Development Strategy (Todes, 2006). The result was a trend in urban development that further entrenched the cities' existing fragmentary patterns.

As will be explained in Chapter 03, informal housing policy reached a high point in 2004 with Breaking New Ground, and a low point in 2007 with the KwaZulu-Natal

Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act. Throughout this, informal settlement has continued to fill a need in the urban housing dilemma. Currently, in South Africa informal dwellings make up about 13% of the housing stock, and in the province of Gauteng (the Johannesburg-Ekurhuleni-Tshwane metroplex) the number jumps up to 21.5% (Statistics South Africa, 2011a:21). Compounding this has been a reduction in the capital investment on middle and lower income areas of the housing market and growing rates of unemployment. The Labour Force Survey showed unemployment at 16% in 1995 and hovering at 25% in the first quarter of 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2011c); in informal settlements it is a staggering 40% (Narsoo, 2012). This large group of unemployed workers is made up of city residents, rural to urban migrants and an influx of immigrants. The higher than predicted urban growth rates and the peripheralised location of much of the state-subsidised housing has led to a particularly devastating housing crisis in greater-Johannesburg. Consequently, informal settlement has increased.

Statistics South Africa's Selected Development Indicators reflect that in the greater-Johannesburg area 30.8% of people on the waiting list for state-subsidised housing have been on that list for more than 9 years, which is more than double the national average (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). Simply stated, the housing needs of the poor are not being met. Compounding this are the reports of poorly designed and poorly built state-subsidised projects in locations inconvenient to the social and educational advantages of city life. This begs the question: Why does the State so determinedly disregard the *in situ* upgrading approach for informal settlements?

section01.3 Looking forward: the rationale for this study

Twenty years ago the United Nations' Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) (1991:2) put forth that

'The right to housing should not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense which equates it with, for example, the shelter provided by merely having a roof over one's head or views shelter exclusively as a commodity. Rather it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity'.

Today, informal communities are still trying to grasp that right. The existence of this struggle reflects a socio-spatial breakdown in access to the city. Despite more progressive rhetoric trends of urban fragmentation are being perpetuated through state-sanctioned relocation to the periphery and greenfield style upgrading practice.

As will come to light in Chapter 02, competing bodies of both South African and international literature on informal settlements discuss on the one hand the inhabitants' basic physical needs (services), and on the other the necessity of looking beyond a narrow focus on deficiencies. This second body of literature suggests addressing the social and spatial needs of informal residents on equal footing with the acknowledgment of informal communities' developmental successes. This would include articulating existing and hoped for physical and social integration, in other words, how to support and strengthen links between the social benefits of the city and the informal communities.

Physical needs have been identified by residents in Richards, O'Leary and Mutsonziwa's (2007:380), among others, evaluation of informal settlements in Buffalo City, eThekweni and Johannesburg as: sustainable sanitation (this includes toilet and personal hygiene); solid waste removal; improved access to potable water; electricity for dwellings; and street lighting. However, as Simone (2004) and, from the organic discourse, Zikode (2008b), among others, point out, socio-cultural understanding of the settlements is not as straightforward. Both identify the necessity of acknowledging the inherent cultural worth of informal communities, and of promoting/supporting the social relationships that lead to residents' livelihoods, while at the same time recognising the need for increased social amenities.

These calls to recognise the social worth in informality are in line with Roy's (2004) sentiment charging the inappropriateness of such *tabula rasa* prescriptions to urban development, as suggested by de Soto (2000), Hall and Pfieffer (2000) and others,.

In this study, the context of space includes the manifestations of both physical and social needs. Multiple studies (Baharoglu and Leitmann, 1998; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Katayama, 2004; Goebel, 2007; Richards *et al.*, 2007 among others) have shown that the success of these communities is built on strong social bonds. Success in this context implies an environment that aids residents' ability to glean a livelihood. In the literature this is often framed as social capital. Further understanding of this aspect of these complex environments can become a

cornerstone to a shifted process and methodology for implementing *in situ* upgrading.

Holston and Caldeira (2008:18), after studying *favelas* in Latin American cities, suggest the need for more ethnographic studies of the informal 'processes and conditions of urbanisation [that] are always superimposed, multilayered, entangled, and contradictory'. Yiftachel (2009b:247) suggests that these spaces between the "lightness" of legality, safety and full membership, and the "darkness" of eviction, destruction and death' that are informality on the street, are more appropriately described with a language of 'urban colonialism, collective identity and space'. In his Middle Eastern urban studies, he describes these grey areas as being between what is and what is not deemed acceptable to modern city life (Yiftachel, 2009a). As the literature reflects, these grey spaces and their communities are not limited to the Middle East.

Two further conflicting trends in the literature reflect that all too often, in practice, urban development deems informal settlement as the antithesis of modern urban design (Pamuk and Cavallieri, 1998; Robins, 2002); versus the idea that informal settlement is the manifestation of human need (Huchzermeyer, 2006; Pithouse, 2008b). These two trends underline the need to further understand the social and physical systems in these communities, which from the outside seem to intertwine without any recognisable order or logic. Cartwright (1991:44) suggests that upon closer look '[the] chaos is order...[an] order that is invisible'. This chaos, he proposes, is a complex fluidity reflecting the constant flux of population size, economic need, and social and cultural make up (*ibid.*). The characteristic continual change of informal settlements has been put forward as a primary hurdle in the upgrading process (Abbott, 2002; Robins, 2002). It is, therefore, noteworthy that in her exploration of the relationship between physical change and planning methodology, Hillier (2005) suggests that this is a poorly addressed area in both theory and practice. She goes on to discuss the potential use of the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari as a means to understand the complexities of urban form in a way that can be translated into practice. In other words, she is proposing a reconceptualisation of

community through relational space rather than absolute space which she intimates might address the characteristic of continual change.

Given this, it follows that further understanding of informal communities and their processes of urbanisation can potentially give rise to upgrading methodologies. This is significant because, as Chapter 03 will show, South Africa's current predominant urban development trend leads to the use of such temporary measures as regularisation and NGO-aided self-help, which are then generally followed by formalisation or relocation. Disturbingly, municipalities argue that these approaches address the squalor of poverty and paradoxically applaud their own efforts to achieve a 'Cities Without Slums' reading of the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Target 11 (Huchzermeyer, 2011). As a result of this treatment, many of the communities lose their qualities of cultural and social importance. Significantly, it will be illustrated in Chapter 02 that a large body of the literature suggests that residents draw upon these qualities of social capital for their livelihood endeavours.

The definition of livelihood in the context of this study is borrowed from Chambers (1995:174): 'livelihood refers to the means of gaining a living, including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets'. Moser (1998:1) builds on the idea of assets and livelihood in her assessment of the Asset Vulnerability Framework, arguing that:

'Identifying what the poor have, rather than what they do not have, focuses on their assets... these include both tangible assets, such as labor and human capital, less familiar productive assets, such as housing, as well as intangible assets, such as household relations and social capital'.

Chambers (1995) and Moser (1998), among others, acknowledged social capital as an integral element of social cohesion, informal reciprocal networks, and economic activity.

section01.4 Outlining the aims of this study

My previous research (Kornienko, 2006) highlighted the desperate need for physical services in informal communities. Building on this, my current research locates itself in an understanding that Gauteng's informal settlements are the complex product of more than a century of transplanted culture and desperate housing need, as well as a history of both radical and subtle revisory policy implementation (Kornienko, 2008).

This study backs away from the socio-spatial dichotomy of the formal/informal development model in an effort to understand informal place production and informal settlement's logic of connectivity to the city. It is with this in mind that the study examines informal development within the urban confines through the lens of the rhizome; with the understanding that '[a] rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organisations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:7). The mode of connectivity is explored through the layering of: current need-based social processes and cultural expressions; a historic legacy of spatial and psychological oppression; the expectations of post-apartheid citizenship; and informal residents' hope, waiting and agency for a place in the city through the State's housing provision programme.

The notion that a further understanding of the production and functionality of place and space in informal communities is needed prior to upgrading interventions is the essence of this study. It is based on the premise that at stake are the informal residents' ability to maintain the social relationships that contribute to livelihoods and personal well-being.

In light of this, the study endeavours to articulate the importance of the relationship between social processes and location by rethinking the concepts of community core, edge or boundary, and territory in the informal context. The objective of this type of layered understanding of informal settlement is to contribute to a more appropriate methodology for the *in situ* upgrading of communities. This is done by rethinking the tools with which we as urban design and planning professionals evaluate existing conditions in the context of informal settlement. These methodological tools are then used at the request of one of the case study settlements, with intensive community participation and the technical support of a design team to produce a layout plan for the *in situ* upgrade of the informal settlement.

section01.5 Articulating the research question that guides this thesis discussion

The *de facto* realities of South African urban landscapes reflect the inadequate low-income housing stocks. Pithouse (2008b), among others, insists that this gives informal settlement a role in housing the urban poor. This study questions South Africa's current state-subsidised practice of providing poor quality peripheral housing and instead builds the argument that this approach undermines the socio-economic well-being of residents and gives the State a level of socio-spatial control over the poor that is reminiscent of apartheid's racial control over urban development patterns (Huchzermeyer, 2006). This is done through an exploration of the significance of place in informal communities. At the core of the study is Walker's (2001:3) premise that

'housing all over the world has been recognised to be a highly cultural activity. It would be strange if the production of informal housing were any different. Such an explanation appears to deny the actors a cultural identity, simply because they are poor'.

The study explores the potential of a paradigm shift toward a place based on *in situ* upgrading methodology that would move away from housing provision toward holistic community uplifting. This avenue of inquiry is rooted in the two questions: what are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal communities 'n relation to residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours, and what is the significance of these to *in situ* upgrading approaches? And further, how does the changing character of place, through upgrading, evolving development or relocation impact these?

section01.6 Situating the critical terms and concepts of place and space in the context of this study

'To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul' (Weil, 1955:53).

In a broad sense place, space and location in a landscape define who we are, what we experience and where we are. Weil (1955) suggests that the human's need for roots is on a par with the need for liberty, equality and security, while Coles (1970) characterises it with citizenship and humanity. Given this, the study endeavours to distill the concepts of place to further understand what contributes to informal residents' livelihood and well-being. This section attempts to clarify the definitions of place and space for the context of this study, as the concepts have become

somewhat ambiguous in the literature at large. Further, it narrows the scope of these concepts to a level that is meaningful to this dialogue on informality, and reveals related questions to be explored through the course of the study.

section 01.6.1 Defining place and space

This study discusses urban morphology using a spatial hierarchy that includes place, space, locale and urban landscape. The tightest focus is on place and the private space of dwelling, as the realm of familial and social interaction. However, as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) suggest, place cannot be extracted from its relationship to the larger built form of urban spaces. In other words, at this scale place and space engage to define each other. Then the focus widens to the semi-private and public spatial surroundings in which residents participate in economic endeavours or seek sources of social support and then widens to the locale, and finally it widens to include the city at large. The ensuing chapters will expand on these areas themselves and how their edges overlap. To this end, the character of these spatial scales will be viewed in their physical form and their more messy socio-cultural makeup. Tuan (1977:5) contends that for a study like this the inclusion of 'culture is taken for granted'.

J. B. Jackson (1984:5) describes landscape as 'a space on the surface of the earth; intuitively we know that it is a space with a degree of permanence, with its own distinct character, either topographical or cultural, and above all a space shared by a group of people'. Over the course of his debate on humans' interaction with their environment he refines this to: 'a composition of man-made or man-modified spaces to serve as infrastructure or a background for our collective existence' (Jackson, 1984:8). This second definition becomes more interesting when put alongside Simone's (2004:410) description of informality as 'people as infrastructure' who inhabit their locale as 'coherent economic platform'.

Mugavin (1999) points out that with post-modernism has come the re-emergence of the significance of place, or in other words, bringing the everyday back into the larger discussion of urban spatial form. The concepts of space and place have critical relevance to this study, it is therefore necessary to take the time here to clarify their meaning in its context. Relph (1976) refers to the works of Lukerman (1964) and

May (1970) in an effort to articulate the relationship between place and space, suggesting that the concept of place becomes useful when viewed to 'refer to a particular and specific part of space and to what may occur in that space' (May, 1970:3 quoted in Relph, 1976) and with the understanding that "place is an immediately apparent part of reality, not a sophisticated thesis...[it] is a simple fact of experience" (Lukerman, 1964:4 quoted in Relph, 1976). Tuan (1977:6) adds to this, making the observation that '[f]rom the security and stability of place we [human beings] are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa' (*ibid.*:6). Place, he suggests, has the spatial qualities of control, people are in control of their places (*ibid.*). His final point in the relationship between space and place is that 'we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (*ibid.*:6). This will become particularly relevant in Chapter 04 where I discuss Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of rhythm and refrain as a language to understand place.

Drawing on the literature on environmental psychology and geography the concept of place, as differentiated from space, becomes clearer; Tuan (1977), Arefi (1999) and Gustafson (2001) among others, propose that there are three facets in the relationship between people and the environments that they inhabit. First is the idea of locale, all agree that this is where social interaction occur. The second element is geographic location. Arefi (1999) asserts that this is shaped and impacted by economic transactions. However, Gustafson (2001) describes it as determined by interactions with the surrounding areas. Arefi (1999) characterises the final component of the place definition as people's attachment to their living environment. Gustafson (2001) calls this a person's sense of place. Given that the context of this study is a country that has a history of severe racial segregation, it seems particularly pertinent to add Fried's (2000:195) claim that 'attachment to place is certainly social and most profound when human relationships are embedded in current or past group affiliations and identity based on ethnic, racial, class or cultural parameters'. Together these elements begin to form a dynamic definition of place. Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001:274) add a final key point, which becomes critical when viewed in light of relocation as an informal settlement upgrading approach:

‘places are repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is those social relationships, not just place *qua* place, to which people are attached’ (*ibid.*:275).

The continuing practice of peripheralising the urban poor through relocation, in South Africa and other countries, gives relevance to the ideas of placelessness and non-place. Illustrating this is Relph’s (1976:1) suggestion that ‘the significance of place in human experience goes far deeper than ‘...is apparent in the actions of individuals and groups protecting their places against outside forces of destruction’. In other words, he is implying that there is more involved than just the obvious inconvenience of physical distance that makes residents tenaciously stand up against bulldozers and form social movements to reject relocation. In this same vein, Arefi (1999:183) asserts that ‘[w]hile “placeness” embedded in rootedness connotes belonging... placelessness signifies loss of meaning’. This idea of loss of meaning relates directly with the ideas of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1989; Putnam, 1995) and Simone’s (2004) concept of economic benefit through social relations, both of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

What then differentiates place from space? As was discussed above, they are not tiles laid down next to each other, they are part of each other (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Space, carrying the inference of design and planning theory and technocracy, occurs at multiple scales from the physical forms of private and public to the abstract global space of Internet, television, film, and books. Vladislavić (2004) shows us with his description of the Tuscan villas in Johannesburg, ‘Villa Toscana’, how place can be defined by both abstract and physical space. This adds a layer of complexity to our understanding of place. Why is this alien cultural housing form from the global-North embraced as the core of place, home, by those who live there?

Buchanan and Lambert (2005:3) suggest that there was a fundamental shift in the thinking of space in the mid-20th century, which they argue was greatly influenced by the destruction in Europe:

‘After the Second World War...thinking changed: space came to be regarded as uninhabitable by definition. Whereas before the concern had been how space affected individuals, now the emphasis shifted to the other side of the equation: could individuals affect space? In different ways, Lefebvre and Heidegger stand on the cusp of this seismic shift of sensibility in that they

both argue that the individual is essential to the constitution of the place, that is to say, what we now call “lived space”. Both were able to conceive of spaces that had been emptied or otherwise rendered uninhabited, but neither was yet prepared to consider the possibility of spaces that were constitutively uninhabitable. The generation of thinkers that followed - Auge, Debord, de Certeau, Deleuze, Foucault, and many others - had no hesitation’.

As will be expanded upon in Chapter 04, it is largely this thinking by Lefebvre and Heidegger that led to the inclusion of place, as ‘conceived in the hearts and minds of users’ (Chang and Huang, 2008:228), as part of the academic and professional conversation on spatial development. The later thinkers that Buchanan and Lambert (2005) mention, Deleuze, Foucault and [Marx] among others, developed concepts around the post-World War II global politico-economic trends and their dynamics of power that have influenced space in the closing decades of the 20th century. As discussions in later chapters will show, such contemporary thinkers as Harvey bring their concepts together to further the understanding of today’s urban geographies.

section 01.6.2 Defining place and space through social and cultural norms

Merrifield (1993:516) argues ‘that much of the confusion in the literature on place stems from its failure to engage with the ontological nature of place. This has led to much research implicitly accepting a restrictive Cartesian view of socio-spatial reality. To this end, one of the critical concepts of this thesis is how informal spaces are defined or could potentially be defined. The theme of space organised by social and cultural dynamics has begun here with the definitions of space and place, this will be developed further in Chapters 02 and 03 and included in the discussion based on my empirical data in Chapter 07.

The term “social” has been embedded throughout the previous discussion on space and place. The concept of culture is frequently linked with the concept of social, however their meanings in the literature are often nebulous. Because their influence on the built environment is widely discussed and because I use them throughout this study in relation to social capital, social movements and social relationships, as well as citing works of fiction, poetry, music and art, it is important to clarify how they contribute to the ideas in my work. To this end, I review Rapoport’s (1990) and AlSayyad’s (1993) exploration of these terms. Interestingly, from different approaches they arrive at a similar end. From an anthropological stance, Rapoport (1990:10) suggests ‘two ways of “dismantling” the concept of culture’ (Figure 01.2) in order to make it a useful term in the discussion on built form: ‘Culture is a vast

domain' he explains, while 'built form a small part of it'. He goes on to imply that social is a subset of cultural: 'social refers to more concrete variables, to the actual social structures, groups, networks, relationships and behaviours which are manifestations of culture', whereas '[culture] refers to more *ideational* variables, describing the "blueprint" for social variables' (*ibid.*:10).

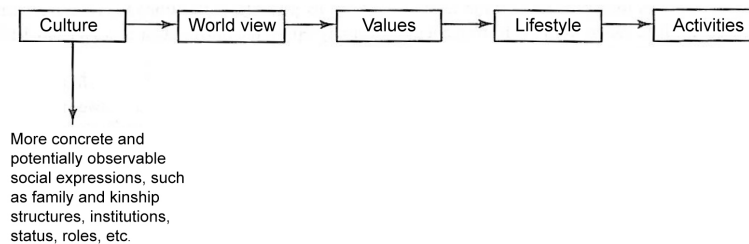


Figure 01.2: Defining the concept social as a subset of cultural (reproduced from Rapoport, 1990:10).

In contrast, AlSayyad (1993) comes from the perspective of architecture and urban design. He explores the idea of culture thus:

Culture is perceived as the mediator between an individual's choice and the larger societal structure. The impact of structural constraints at the macro level is filtered by various cultural mechanisms (such as religion, norms of behaviour for collective action, or roles of men and women) that affect the response of an individual or collective at the micro level' (*ibid.*:41).

Although he does not explicitly use the term social, I understand it to be inferred in what he calls microlevel response; therefore, like Rapoport (1990), he is also implying that social is distilled from a cultural source. Together these two interpretations give clarity to the relationship between the two concepts, and further, they suggest the possibility of understanding the concept of cultural through its manifestations of social behaviour, art, music, and so on.

This leads into cultural geographers Daniels and Cosgrove's (1988:1) suggestion that 'To understand a built landscape...it is usually necessary to understand written and verbal representations of it, not as "illustrations"...but as constituent images of its meaning or meanings'. They elaborate on this stating that 'every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol' (*ibid.*:8). As an example of how these last two sets of ideas, place/space and social/cultural, can be drawn together, Leyshon, Matless and Revill (1995:425) suggest that music is a means to understand the connection between people and place: 'to consider the place of music is not to reduce music to its location...but to allow a purchase on the rich aesthetic, cultural, economic and political geographies'. In the past, legendary South African voices like that of Miriam

Makeba² have articulated the connection between black South Africans and their political and social struggles. Today, such contemporary musicians as the Dlamini King Brothers Choir do the same. In the documentary film *Amandla! A Revolution in Four Part Harmony* (2003), the director Lee Hirsch explains the role that music and *toyi toyi*³ played in black South Africans' struggle against the apartheid regime for citizenship in their own nation. He states that 'song communicated something that otherwise would not have been understood' (*ibid.*) and *toyi toyi* is immediately identifiable with its political connection to black townships and political struggles. As will be shown, it continues to be the image of defiance in contemporary urban struggles. In this study, I use the power of music in a slightly different way. I look at its ability to define space, within the informal communities, on their edges and in the urban landscape.

Likewise, Hofmeyr⁴ (personal communication, 21 May 2008) suggests that contemporary fictional writing can be a window into social realities that are not always clear in non-fiction books on policy and history. As she points out, in South Africa fiction as a form of resistance came into its own in the 1960s; and additionally it reflects the influences of the strong African oral tradition, culture and daily life (*ibid.*). By way of illustration, is this rich description from Zakes Mda's (1995:48) fictional work, which follows his protagonist's life as an informal resident in urban South Africa:

'Dirty children follow him. They dance in their tattered clothes and spontaneously compose a song about him, which they sing with derisive gusto. Mangy mongrels follow him, run alongside, sniff at him, and lead the way, while barking all the time. He ignores them all, and walks through a quagmire of dirty water and human ordure that runs through the streets of this informal settlement as the place is politely called'.

section 01.7 A preview of the study's research methodology

This thesis attempts to shy away from the contemporary trend toward apocalyptic "slum" rhetoric and the 'urban catastrophe genre' both of which are present in much of the academic literature and mass media, and 'which thrives on the bird's eye view

² Miriam Makeba is a cultural icon in South Africa. As a result of her civil rights activism through song, the government annulled her citizenship and she lived in exile, gaining global acclaim until the end of apartheid (Denselow, 2008).

³ *Toyi toyi* is a form of Southern African dance that is used in political protests in South Africa.

⁴ Isabel Hofmeyr is a Professor of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand.

of history to aggrandise predictions' (Holston and Caldeira, 2008:18). There is no doubt that the global trend of urbanisation over the last forty years has resulted in a shift from rural to urban poverty, however, rather than being drawn in by the number of digits used to describe poverty projections (Davis, 2006 among others), this study chooses to examine the complex character of individual communities.

I invoke Wood's (1991:13) comment that 'Cities...are marvellously complex organisms with a life of their own and we are simply privileged enough, bold enough or foolish enough, to intervene in the myriad processes and forces that shape them' to set the tone of this study. To this end I set about designing a methodology that helped me to understand the social character and functionalities of my two case study informal settlements, Harry Gwala and Makause, in the context of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality where they are located.

My study's methodology is based on Burawoy's (2009) Extend Case Method model. Through a series of dialogues 'between participant and observer, between successive events in the field, between micro and macro, and between successive reconstructions of theory' I furthered my understanding of spatial use and development in informal settlements (*ibid.*:xv). I used qualitative interviews, sketches, maps and photographs to document the activities and social processes that develop and define these spaces. To further understand this microlevel space and place I distilled the work of Deleuze and Guattari(1987) and more specifically their spatial language of rhythm, refrain, milieu, and territory from a larger theoretical discussion in Chapter 04. Against this, I place the macro-influences of international development agencies, the state, NGOs and social movements, as are developed in Chapters 02 and 03. This micro/macro approach further articulates the dynamics of the top down and bottom up urban development strategies that are taking place in developing cities such as Ekurhuleni. A strong thread through the thesis, which serves to elucidate this micro/macro dynamic, is the legal case of Nokotyana v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. The case addresses the socio-economic rights in South Africa's Constitution, specifically those around housing rights. Mr. Nokotyana is a civic leader in Harry Gwala, one of my case study informal settlements. This event began serendipitously with the beginning of my fieldwork in

that community, at which time I became actively involved with the human rights lawyer and the community in the preparation of the case.

section 01.8 A brief chapter synopsis illustrating the study's construct

Chapter 02 begins with an exploration of the international view on informality at large, briefly touching on informal economies while concentrating on the informal housing environment. Also mentioned are the global economic trends and development norms that are proving to have quite an influence on local urban development practices. The discussion then moves on to how informal communities are perceived, first in the literature, mainly academic but also alluding to the recent increased interest in “slums” in public media; and second the impact of how settlements are perceived by other urban residents and by the design and planning professions. The reader will then register a shift in the tone of Chapter 03; anecdotal evidence, imagery, empirical evidence and popular media were all added to the academic literature in an effort to build layered complexity of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa's legacy on informal settlement. This creates the larger context in which the study sits.

Chapter 04 becomes somewhat of a crossroads in the construct of this dissertation. It is at this point that I must digest the discussions to date and then add a strong theoretical component with which to formulate a conceptual framework. It is this framework that will then help me to process the empirical data collected in the informal communities in Ekurhuleni. This begins with the description of the research methodology in Chapter 05 and the more localised context of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality where the case study sites are located in Chapter 06. At this point the thesis shifts to contain substantial empirical content from the fieldwork phase of the research. Chapter 07 will document the physical form and social processes of the informal communities, which will then, in Chapter 08, be combined with the concepts drawn from the previous chapters to understand informal settlement life and how this knowledge can be used in conjunction with the residents' expectation to inform settlement upgrading. Finally Chapter 09 will draw any relevant generalisations and summarise the study's findings.

Conclusion

At the core of this study was the need to further understand the social character and functionality of informal settlement, with a focus toward the *in situ* upgrading of these communities. I attempted to do this by setting aside the global-North/Western development lens and rethinking the language with which informality and its spaces are evaluated. To this end, I began by identifying key elements of the development dynamic through academic literature and multi-media reviews and an overview of the international development agencies, NGOs and social movements; which I then put face to face with appropriate facets of my fieldwork data to develop insights into the micro/macro discourse that impacts informal settlement development, and more specifically the spaces within the communities.

The second major dialogue was that between the abstract and the concrete. I chose to look at a group of theorists and philosophers who focused on the relationships between the everyday actions of people and the spatial consequences of those actions. This immediately informed my methodology, making the informal residents the crux of the study. It was through listening to them that I began to understand their spaces. The language to decipher these conversations was key, and I developed it using Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notions of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and the fluidity of territorialisation/deterritorialisation. This language communicated how social processes inform space, and further what those spaces meant to the users. It is this that I carried into the discourse informal settlement upgrading.

chapter 02 ARTICULATING THE COMPLEXITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS INHERENT TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Introduction

Jondolo, *gecekondus*, squatter camps, *colonias populares* and shantytowns are just a few of the colloquial names used around the world for informal settlements. Low-income urban housing shortage is a global challenge in which informal settlement plays an important role if no other housing option is available (Pithouse, 2008b). Despite insecure tenure and squalor, these settlements provide physical shelter and social capital to the most vulnerable urban populations. The following chapter reflects an evolution to how informal settlement is defined for the purpose of this study: communities of urban poor located on invaded land that has been systematically transformed by the residents to enable spatial and economic benefit for livelihood and well-being. As my definition implies, this study is trying to access and understand informality not just on the basis of urban development models but seeks a more active engagement with the mechanisms of informality. How residents transform spaces and build connections to the urban fabric is the thrust behind this investigation. Therefore, it becomes the lens through which the larger informality discussions will be viewed.

At the turn of the 21st century, UN-Habitat and the World Bank turned up the spotlight on poverty and the issue of housing the poor in developing nations with the “Cities Without Slums” initiative in 1999 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000. One consequence was to effectively thrust informal settlement as a housing typology into the much larger, and arguably, more negative arena of “slums” (Gibson, 2007; Huchzermeyer, 2011). This chapter begins by extracting informal settlement from the more general “slum” dialogue in the literature contending that the *de facto* response to informal settlement is heavily weighted by how these communities are perceived. The analysis of four models of informality outlines the greater context of the study with a discussion on the the roles of the different players and politico-economic forces at work in the sphere of the informal sector. These models are: the formal/informal binary; informality as a process of urban development; urban subalternism and insurgence planning. From this

conceptual discussion on informality there is a shift to the historical responses to informality, both within South Africa and internationally.

section 02.1 The perception of informality: teasing “informal settlement” out of the larger “slum” discourse

The larger global “slum” dialogue is included in the following discussion on informal settlement because, as will be explored, it helps to elucidate the hegemonic influences in urban development for the poor. However, this is a heteroglossic conversation, the other voice engages with the *de facto* realities of informal settlement recognising it as more than a laundry list of “have” and “have not” as articulated by the UN-Habitat’s (2010) “slum” definition.

The turn of the 21st century saw the introduction of three major international development initiatives meant to underline the growing issue of urban poverty and outlined targets to address it, these are: the World Bank/UN-Habitat, “Cities Without Slums” initiative in 1999; the UN-Habitat, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000; and the UN-Habitat’s publication, *The challenge of slums: Global report on human settlements* in 2003. These galvanised many of the world’s governing bodies (particularly those in the global South), international development agencies, NGOs, and grassroots movements. Since then “slum” has become a common expression in both critical contexts and the public media, which, as Simon (2011) suggests, has led to a blurring of terms. One example is the use of “slum” and “informal settlement” interchangeably. While acknowledging that the anti-“slum” campaign led to increased national attention on the world stage, in South Africa Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006), among others in the academic arena, have voiced concern over this muddying of language. Gilbert (2007) and Huchzermeyer (2011) point to its potential danger, warning against the problematic consequences of a literal interpretation of the “Cities Without Slums” slogan. This has been evidenced by acts of “slum” clearing, as the notion of cities without any “slums” is adopted by governments across much of the globe including South Africa (*ibid.*).

Huchzermeyer (2011:1) underlines the humble beginnings of this slogan: ‘[t]he modest and carefully worded Cities Alliance target...to “improve the lives” of only one-tenth of the global “slum” population of the year 2000 over the subsequent 20

years', which became MDG 7, Target 11. Also worth noting is Cities Alliance's definition of "slum" as the

'neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central-city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities' (Cities Alliance, 1999 cited in UN-Habitat, 2005).

Again, this is quite unrecognizable with regard to the current UN-Habitat definition for "slum": 'A slum household is defined as a household lacking one or more of the following: Improved water; Improved sanitation; Sufficient living area; Durable housing; and Secure Tenure' (UN-Habitat, 2010:16). These definitions reflect a shift from qualitative to quantitative descriptions of living conditions, the consequences of which will be shown throughout the study.

Neither of these definitions make mention of the social elements or the concept of potential social capital in these informal communities. By UN-Habitat's own admission this definition is 'restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement' leaving out any mention of the 'social dimension' (Davis, 2006:23 quoting UN-Habitat, 2003). As such, the one-dimensionality of the term "slum", 'with all its inglorious associations' creates a negative perception of the dweller indistinguishable from the physical place (Gibson, 2007:697). Roy (2004 and 2005) suggests that the perception of a faceless poverty makes a *tabula rasa* response, in line with neoliberal agendas, more palatable for politicians.

Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006) and Huchzermeyer (2011), among others, put forth that in many places, South Africa among them, political agendas that have grown out of the MDGs have become an avenue for evicting and relocating settlements. Huchzermeyer (2011:72) draws attention to this in her book, stating that South Africa's interpretation of the "Cities Without Slums" slogan has been used as a means to upgrade its major cities to world class status: 'informal settlements in South Africa exist under constant threat of ultimate eviction, communicated through de-legitimising discourse that is in turn legitimised by the slogan "Cities Without Slums", applied bluntly in the service of urban competitiveness'. In this way South Africa attempts to fulfil economic and development targets at the cost of human rights, one of the most powerful examples of this was the Elimination and Prevention of Re-Emergence of Slums Act in KwaZulu-Natal. Such concerns were also raised

with South Africa's hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 2010, which led, among other things, to the N2 Gateway housing project in Cape Town (Miraftab, 2009). These are examples of policy and practice that effectively cleared slums to improve international image with an eye on international investment: 'the globalising market...requires the authorities to rid these localities of the unwanted, the disorderly, the informal' (Huchzermeyer, 2011:72). However, looking back, Smit (1992) points out that in the case of South Africa industry and economic influences on the policies around low-income housing predate this. He states that the connection was forged by the Urban Foundation (which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3) in the late 1970s. This suggests a complexity of legislation in the late apartheid era that ran far deeper than race laws; it involved the lobbying of government for money for urban development projects, industry's interest in a stable workforce and the economics of private sector low-income housing delivery.

Returning to the global stage, Davis' (2006) book *Planet of Slums*, while problematic⁵ (Pithouse, 2008a), does outline the connection between rapidly urbanising areas, globalisation and neoliberal policies (Angotti, 2006). Davis (2006) argues that informality has sharply increased since the near-global adoption of neoliberalism, which parallels the contention by Davis (2006), Miraftab (2009) and Yiftachel (2009a) among others, that market driven land use and the commodification of basic needs often results in further disenfranchisement, exclusion and segregation of the urban poor. To this end, Miraftab (2009:34 citing Brown, 2003) argues that 'Neoliberalism should be understood as not simply a bundle of economic policies that extract surplus capital, but as a network of policies, ideologies, values and rationalities that work together to achieve capital's hegemonic power'. This reference to hegemonic power is based on Cox's (2001) argument that international development agencies like the World Bank influence the internal stability of countries by requiring top down institutional mandates. Miraftab (2009) describes this as a Gramscian reading of development agendas, in other words, 'the Machiavellian root of Gramsci's

⁵ Pithouse (2008a) points out that in general *Planet of Slums* lacks a voice from the perspective of the poor shack dwellers; that in South Africa Davis' arguments are misleading regarding state subsidized versus informally self-built housing settlements; and that, again in South Africa, he erroneously characterizes informal settlements as run by slumlords.

understanding of power...[as] a centaur' (Fusaro, 2010). Or as Cox (1987:164) put it, this half man, half animal image is a metaphor of 'coercion and consent'.

Miraftab (2009) and Yiftachel (2009a) make an argument in line with this interpretation of hegemony, stating that governance influenced by industry protracts the temporary state of informality for its own benefit. Miraftab (2009:34, 35) describes this practice as rooted in international development agencies, such as the World Bank, stressing that the

'routinization of community participation depoliticises communities' struggles and extends state control within the society. Drawing grassroots movements into NGOs maintains the *status quo* by stabilising state-society relations'.

This harkens back to Bourdieu's reading of Benveniste (1989:24 citing Benveniste, 1969): '[those] invested with state authority, all are so many personifications of a social fiction to which they give life...and from which they receive in turn their power'. This describes the ever widening practice of government decentralisation and community participation, which in theory should be positive for both sides; with the government able to address local issues and the communities having a closer connection and voice in government decision-making. However, the *de facto* reality is that residents continue to feel invisible and very little in the settlements changes. In fact Miraftab (2009) points out that informal communities often are coerced to trade their potential power for inclusion with NGOs or for basic services. In this way, they become part of the hegemonic system, in other words 'informal settlements as embodiments of citizens' insurgency also serve to stabilise the system' (*ibid.*:34). Yiftachel (2009a), in the context of Israel/Palestine, describes a similar contradictory, control-based relationship between the state and informality. He goes on to describe the process of 'delegitimising and criminalising' communities or organisations that refuse to participate in this process, 'creat[ing] boundaries that divide urban groups according to their status...activities and populations...concurrently tolerated and condemned, perpetually waiting "to be corrected"' (*ibid.*:90). Zikode (2006:no page number), a shack dweller himself and the leader of the grassroots social movement Abahlali baseMjondolo, describes a similar occurrence in South Africa, the criminalising of views or actions that conflict with the state agenda:

'We have learnt from our experience that when you want to achieve what you want, when you want to achieve what is legitimate by peaceful negotiations, by humbleness, by respecting those in authority your plea becomes criminal'.

Yiftachel (2009a:90) goes on to characterise 'gray spaces' as areas in the urban landscapes that 'define and then contain a range of marginalised and essentialized "castes"'. This socio-spatial urban phenomenon, while not necessarily racial, is a form of segregation that he describes as creeping apartheid.

Gilbert (2007) suggests a less Machiavellian based hegemonic view of the role of international development. He does not locate the agendas of international development agencies, but rather with political and development agendas that manipulate the "slum" language and its potentialities: '[the] false hopes that a campaign against slums raises and the mischief that unscrupulous politicians, developers and planners may do with the term' (*ibid. ibid.* 701). This "mischief" is exemplified in the description of South African "slum" clearing initiatives above. Further, Gilbert (2007) asserts that the UN-Habitat's reintroduction of the term "slum" and their campaign carries a monetary agenda, it is a means to attract funding. He suggests that it is the upshot of today's headline grabbing environment, 'A sign of our times...a victory for the banner headline and for tabloid thinking. This is dumbing down and, worse, it is an invitation to look for instant solutions that will help no one, especially the newly stereotyped "slum" dwellers' (*ibid. Ibid.*:710). On the one hand, the literature describes tangled processes by which informal settlements, the state, NGOs and international agencies engage to maintain a *status quo*; on the other, is a scenario of creating headlines to capture aid money as the driving force.

This connection of international development agencies, neoliberal policy and globalisation with informality may seem like a tangent, but to fully articulate the context for this thesis study is necessary. This brief review reflects but one layer in understanding the complexities of informality. Balancing a globally competitive city and housing for the poor are the stakes for municipalities. This is particularly evident at times such as the 2010 World Cup, which necessitated a spatial shuffling of the urban landscape (Haferburg, Golka, and Selter, 2009). At that time, South Africa chose to envelope informal settlements into the term "slum" and moving forward with their urban development agenda using their interpretation of the "Cities Without Slums" slogan. But even in this example one cannot generalise; outside specific redevelopment zones the *de facto* reality for many informal settlement residents

remained unchanged. This underlines the need to separate informality from the “slum” discourse. Being part of this largely pejorative general term does not in anyway enhance an engagement with informal settlements. On the contrary concerns have been raised in the literature reviewed above indicating that it increases their vulnerability by greying central urban development issues and further entrenching a negative perception of poverty and the housing areas of the urban poor by generalising the language and the realities it represents.

section 02.2 Contemporary use of the pejorative “slum” term further entrenches the long history of the reductionist formal/informal binary model

Discussion of the formal/informal dichotomy dominates much of the literature on the global South. This model has in the past, and persists in some arenas to define and engage informality (Durand-Lasserve, 2004; Doherty and Silva, 2011; Groenewald, Huchzermeyer, Kornienko, Tredoux, Rubin and Raposo, forthcoming in 2013). Doherty and Silva (2011) suggest that on the one hand, contemporary literature increasingly argues the problematic and reductive nature of this binary model, while on the other, it continues to be the basis for a good deal of planning and policy decisions. Dovey and King (2011:12) describe the history of this model: ‘informality, a term originally imported into urban studies from economics where the informal economy is that part of the economy not accounted for in national accounts. Thus the discourse of informality is framed as the other to a formal framework’. The binary model, with its roots in the economic sector, was put forth in the 1970s when informality caught the attention of the urban research community. It has tenaciously persisted. As AlSayyad (2004:10) points out, ‘In hindsight, it is curious to note how, even though the “informal sector” embodies a broad set of activities and people without clearly identifiable characteristics, scholars continued [from the 1970s] to represent it by means of a dualistic framework’. Since the late 1970s it has been argued that the concept of an “informal sector” was so widely adopted because it suited capitalist and then neoliberal economic trends (Bromley, 1978; Tokman, 1978; Moser, 1978; Roy, 2004; Miraftab, 2009). This section will examine the parallels between informal housing, informal economy and policy around increased influx, on one side; and the recognition of ingenuity and potential in informality and perception of informal settlements on the other. Both South African and international examples

are used to examine how the formal/informal model has shaped the understanding of informality and *de facto* consequences of this.

Although informality was articulated as a sector of the economy in Africa in the 1970s, it was rooted in urban research around the influx of labour in the 1950s and 1960s. During these early decades, W. Arthur Lewis was among the first to propose a two part concept, to understand who was coming to the cities and where they were working (AlSayyad, 2004). Lloyd George Reynolds divided people by state employment and street employment (*ibid.*). Not until the early 1970s did Hart (1973) identify and outline the economy in the binary formal and informal that has carried through to the model still used today. Based on his work in Ghana, he 'emphasised the notable dynamism of informal activities and their diversity' (Portes and Schauffler, 1992:2). This model was picked up by the International Labour Office (ILO) who first coined the term 'informal sector' supporting the idea of a two sector dichotomy (Bromley, 1978). Bromley (1978) suggests that the ILO used the formal/informal sector duality as a platform to promote and distribute their policy recommendations and that this is partly how it became almost immediately entrenched in the urban development vocabulary. He goes on to say that like many of the 1970s slogans for example, 'Redistribution with Growth...the Urban Crisis, Reaching the Poorest of the Poor', it became a means to argue the bigger issues of, 'neo-classical evolutionary views that policies can be formulated to bring the "benefits of development" to the poor, and radical neo-Marxist views which often lead to...viol[ence]' (Bromley, 1978:1037). The position of the United Nations expressed at the 1976 UN-Habitat Conference was much the same as Hart (1973) and the ILO's (Harrison, 1992). However, Tokman (1978) suggests that Hart and the ILO viewed the informal sector's ingenuity and ability to make some living when no jobs were available as an indication of their potential if given the opportunity in a formal setting. This became the basis for his argument that the formal/informal binary could be a complimentary (*ibid.*).

In the late 1970s Caroline Moser (1978) conducted a review of informal theories to date that was largely contradictory to Tokman. She identified two main trends, on the one hand evolutionary development, which was largely redistribution based, and on

the other involutionary, which was capitalist based and more in line with the dualist formal/informal model of development (*ibid.*). One of the primary differences between them is that the evolutionary model sees the relationship between small and large scale enterprise as exploitive, while the involutionary model deems it benign. Moser (1978), like Bromley (1978), also suggests that the political dimension of informality cannot be denied, implying that the capitalist sector benefits from the informal sector remaining as is and therefore promotes a *status quo*. Bromley (1978:1036) states that the concept of an informal sector was widely supported in the politico-economic arena because it 'embodied policy implications, which were convenient for international organisations and politically middle-of-the-road governments'. This suggests a capitalist-based hegemonic relationship similar to the contemporary influence of neoliberalism, as discussed in the previous section. The underlying presence of the Marxist ideas of multi-national allocations of surplus and the extraction and accumulation of wealth is clearly evident in the literature of this era. While Tokman (1978) and Moser (1978) contribute conflicting analyses of the formal/informal dichotomy they both agree that the plight of the informal sector is not going to fundamentally change unless there is a significant change in international economic policies.

Harrison (1992) indicates that in much of the Third World recognition of an informal economy was paralleled by a paradigm shift in policy toward informal housing. Garces (1977 quoted in Harrison, 1992:16), like de Soto (1989 and 2000) later, points out that in the settlements residents show great ingenuity and that 'to truly appreciate the existing and potential contribution of the inhabitants of slums and squatter settlements' there would have to be a change in perception and policy. This was a significant shift, because previously informal settlements were viewed as, 'detract[ing] from the image of modernisation...symbols of loss of control by central authorities...sources of crime and disease' (Harrison, 1992:16).

Exploring the influence of international economic policies on contemporary informality AISayyad (2004) uses Rakowski's typology of urban informality from the 1980s. In Rakowski's (1994) largely Latin American based review, a change in economic policy trends becomes evident. She describes two approaches in the

informality arena. One, structuralist, embedded in the past, the other, legalist, affixed to the future. On the one hand, structuralists have their roots in the ILO school and then later in neo-Marxism and dependency theory (Annis and Franks, 1989). This group states the position that through capitalism the poor are economically and spatially peripheralized both at local and international levels; that wealth is passed from the informal sector to the formal sector through cheap labour force and production; and further, that it is the responsibility of the state to work toward equalising these two sectors (*ibid.*). On the other hand the legalist stance, which has been widely embraced with neoliberal policy through the work of Hernando de Soto, emphasises the division between the formal and informal sectors and identifies legal and bureaucratic hurdles as the cause for the division. AlSayyad (2004:12) suggests that while the causal aspect of these two approaches are different, 'their notions of dualism and the marginalization of certain economic activities and actors' are surprisingly similar. It could be argued that Roy's (2011:227-8) description of de Soto's theory on informality as 'economies...rich in assets...[and the] "mystery of capital" is how such dormant and defective assets can be transformed into liquid capital...unleashing new frontiers of capital accumulation' implies a Machiavellian quality like that in the earlier discussion on hegemony in development.

De Soto's (1989) groundbreaking book *The Other Path* advocates economic change through fundamental reform of the legal system. The book was extensively researched in the informal urban landscapes of Peru but largely parallels the ideas of Hart and the ILO in Africa. He identified and coined the idea of the 'extralegal sector', which he went on to point out was the backbone of the Peruvian economy (*ibid.*:xxi). This was a shift from earlier Latin American urban theory which viewed 'Informality [as] a marginalised sector, a temporary manifestation of underdevelopment characterised by survival activities of the urban poor' (AlSayyad, 2004:11 citing Portes and Schaffler, 1992). Portes and Schaffler (1992:3) point out that for the first time in Latin America de Soto's work describes, 'not a precisely defined sector, but comprises all extralegal economic activities, including both market production and trade as well as direct subsistence production'. His primary points are that this sector exists because of bad laws, that the legal system should be reformed to embrace the extralegal sector and that the criteria for this reform should be based on research

data collected from the extralegal sector itself. de Soto (1989) bases this idea on the underlying premise that it is mercantilism not capitalism that is oppressing this sector of the population, and arguing that this is the barrier between informal and formal business practice (*ibid.*). While he seems to make an effort to be inclusive of the two groups with such statements as ‘the millions of people whom the elite Peruvians viewed as unruly squatters and urban pests were actually enterprising citizens who were carrying the nation’s economy on their backs’(*ibid.*:xxi); Roy (2005:148) argues that beginning in this work and carrying through his later work *The Mystery of Capital* he ‘view[s] informality as fundamentally separate from formality’. In an earlier work, Roy (2004) suggests that his is a *tabula rasa* prescription to resolve the issue of urban poverty, and further that this approach of romanticising the aesthetic of the “extralegal sector” as ‘heroic entrepreneurs’ (de Soto, 2000:37) with an overarching reform solution is palatable to international economic and development agendas.

This closely parallels Bromley’s (1978) response to the “informal sector” theory put forth by Hart and the ILO in the 1970s, as discussed above. A contemporary parallel with de Soto worth mentioning is the work of Koolhaas and Harvard Project on the City (2001). He sets out to question our understanding of the complex realities of megacities using Lagos, Nigeria as a case study. However, while on the one hand his analysis of the fluid character of informality, ‘The swath of territorialised land...with varying degrees of temporariness, permanence and flow’ (*ibid.* 694) is innovative; on the other, the comment that ‘They have turned infrastructure into marketplace, non-place into productivity’ is similar to the formalist ideas of de Soto. As Godlewski (2010:17) points out this ‘teeming marketplace’ description of Lagos is in line with established theories in architecture ‘in relation to the larger processes of capitalist development and modernisation’. He goes on to assert that Koolhaas’ lack of engagement with Lagos produced a *tabula rasa* style urban theory (*ibid.*). Another historic parallel in the formal/informal model worth examining is the perception of the consequences of urban influx. In 1973 Paul Bairoch coined the term ‘hyper-urbanisation’ to describe the significant rural/urban influx into city environments with excess labour supply in the 1950s and 1960s (Portes and Schauffler, 1992). Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) coined the term ‘informal hypergrowth’ in the Urban 21 study to describe a similar phenomenon in the 1990s.

Translating this to actual urban contexts, Hall and Pfeiffer (2000:129) highlight Johannesburg as the legatee of post apartheid migration from eastern and central parts of the continent and describe a city centre swollen with migrants engaged in 'petty trading activities'. They describe the phenomenon as 'informal urbanisation: a form whereby cities grow without a formal economic base' (*ibid.*:129). Further they portend that the resultant unemployment contributes to crime among the urban youth. Using Los Angeles as a second example they suggest that this sort of threat entrenches urban segregation, quoting Soja's (1995:133-134) description of the same city, 'the new topography of race, class, gender, age, income, and ethnicity has produced an incendiary urban geography...a landscape filled with violent edges, colliding turfs, unstable boundaries, peculiarly juxtaposed lifespaces, and enclaves of outrageous wealth and despair'. Ballard (2004), in a less apocalyptic tone, describes the *de facto* reality of tensions at formal/informal spatial edges in Johannesburg today, describing people who are defending their personal safety and the safety to their invested equity (*ibid.*). South African cities have a complex socio-spatial relationship with urban poor. On the one hand the "formal sector" wants the workforce and economic benefits from the "informal sector". On the other hand they feel forced to defend their "edge" at gunpoint (Ballard, 2004). Apartheid era urban policies prescribed buffer zones to separate edges, today, to paraphrase Ballard, middle-class men (both black and white) rent walky-talkies, load guns kept in their sock drawer and demand state policy intervention to protect their economic interests (*ibid.*). This is echoed by Jaguaribe (2004:329) in Brazil, 'as is evidenced by the dramatic drop of real estate prices of houses and apartments located near them [favelas] - are seen as specific danger zones of violence and poverty'. Caldeira (2008) also comments on how violent crime and fear have changed the spatial quality and thus quality of life in Sao Paulo. Jaguaribe (2004:329) describes how in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo the 'uneasy terrain' has translated into urban patterns, 'uncertainty that feeds on the fear of violence...mirrors the transformations of the urban design'.

Urban tension from different socio-economic groups has a long history and tends to be highlighted via apocalyptic accounts of the urban condition in periods of urban

influx and related economic instability. This is exemplified in Ward's (2008:568) quoting of Wiseman from 1850: 'slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease'; and Riis (1890:296) 'The sea of a mighty population, held in galling fetters, heaves uneasily in the tenements...a heaving mass capable perhaps of revolutionary action'; Davis' (2006) accounts in *Planet of Slums*; and finally Crerar's (2010) image of moving 'Across a filthy, rubbish-filled creek we enter the slum's heaving residential area, treading carefully to ensure we do not step in human sewage'. A growing body of academic literature is addressing this characterisation of a tension at the formal/informal edge, pointing out its socio-spatial consequences (as exemplified by Roy, 2004; Gilbert, 2007; Dovey and King, 2011 and Huchzermeyer, 2011). They argue that the re-emergence and use of vocabulary such as "slum", "ghetto" and "squatter" and the ensuing apocalyptic narratives contribute to the binary perception of a city with "them" and "us" and in fact ignite the sort of tensions described above. Caldeira (2008:54) describes a milieu of fear in Sao Paulo, stating that 'The circulation of fear and discourses about violence have created the idiom under which polarised representations proliferate and dualistic and simplistic representations of inequality are framed'. However, interestingly she points out that the urban poor and those acting as their voice also use vocabulary of separation: 'together, walls, fences, fortified enclaves, raps, graffiti, and pixacoes configure public space' (*ibid.*:55). Over one million people have watched Brazilian rappers Racionais MC 'Da Ponte pra ca' video on YouTube, which repeatedly references 'da ponte pra ca - on this side of the bridge':

'We here, you there; each one in his place.

Did you get it?

If life is like this, am I to blame?

The world is different on this side of the bridge' (Racionais MC, 2002).

AlSayyad and Roy (2006) point out that, particularly in times of perceived threat, the idea of urban separation through the spatial typology of voluntary and legislated enclaves (whether gated communities or informal settlements) is not new but has been a developmental response since medieval times. Doherty and Silva (2011:38) very clearly diagram the perceived connection of formal/order and informal/disorder that underlies Rio's new 'Shock of Order' policy aimed at clearing the urban

landscape of informality: '*formal = order = security = generation = increased formal economic activity versus informal = disorder = insecurity = degeneration = decreased formal economic activity*'. This fear response of urban spatial segregation is true in cities of the global-North and South. It is clearly evident in South Africa's gated communities and with such policies as the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention for Re-emergence of Slums Act of 2007, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 03.

In addition, Roy (2011) expresses further need for concern that the now common iconic image of "slum" in popular media (*Slumdog Millionaire*, *Planet of Slums*, slum tours and so on) will become the recognised image of Third World cities. She suggests that this 'is a metonym for underdevelopment...an abject but uplifting human condition, one that lives in filth and sewage but is animated...to survive and thrive' (Roy, 2011:225), which is reminiscent of de Soto's (2000:37) romanticisation of the poverty aesthetic with his monicker 'heroic entrepreneur'. Doherty and Silva (2011:32) comment that type of reductionist language 'has more to do with a set of power-relations centred on strengthening the positions of social and political elites' than on representing the plight of the urban poor.

This section has presented two camps around the formal/informal binary model in an effort to show that it is not a useful paradigm in the context of this study. One side condemns the term "slum" as reductionist stating that its use homogenises segments of the city and its population into a single image of poverty (Holston and Caldeira, 2008); and that the fundamental flaw of the binary model is that it forces reductionism into 'the complexity of [informal] relationships that are an inherent and fundamental part of the city' (Doherty and Silva, 2011:32). The other, exemplified by de Soto (1989, 2000), builds the argument for bureaucratic reform which will enable the poor to rise out of poverty. However, this dichotomy serves to articulate the tension at the socio-economic edges of the formal and informal sectors and begins to reflect on how this spatially impacts the urban landscape. Additionally it acknowledges how urban residents on both sides of that edge are expressing a sense of difference, which is significant because of its potential to change urban space. As Godlewski, 2010 suggests, people come together through economic need

but shrink apart through the belief of difference and engaging with this dynamic without falling into some variation of the formal/informal model becomes a real challenge.

section 02.3 Stepping back from the 'urban catastrophe genre': rethinking informality as a an urban process

This section moves away from the ideology of separation towards one of integration. With this in mind it is worth noting AlSayyad's (2004 citing Wirth, 1938) use of Louis Wirth's seminal work on urbanisation as a way of life, as a means to further understand the essence and practice of informality. Specifically he refers to Wirth's three interpretations of urbanisation: 'the physical structure, comprising a population base; a system of social organisation, involving a characteristic social structure and related patterns of social relationships; and...groups engaged in or operating forms of collective behaviour' (*ibid.*:8). This encapsulates many of the ideas that will be discussed in this chapter. It begins with a clarification of informal settlement terminology. It will then review selected literature around informality as a complex part of the urban process. This concept of informality includes an engagement with the *de facto* mechanisms that generate livelihood and housing in the urban landscape and the associated socio-spatial implications. The important role of the actors in defining space is emphasised. Early in the section social negotiation and an organising logic are noted as recurring themes in the literature and these carry through to a discussion on how districts in a city are bound and interconnected. At this point, an examination of the edge becomes critical to understanding how informality becomes part of the urban fabric. Finally the conversation turns to social capital and its role in organic urban development.

Because of its use in the literature, a short clarification of the terms "squatter", "squatting" and informal settlement is necessary. Regionally and historically they have had different meanings and connotations. Zakes Mda (1995) expresses this eloquently in his award winning South African novel *Ways of Dying*. The protagonist Toloki leaves a tragic rural start in life to seek his fortunes in the big city. The story follows him as a dignified, if eccentric, professional mourner. Working at funerals he navigates different zones of the city, from funeral homes to informal settlements. Toloki moves from the street to a settlement and muses, 'Squatter people are a

close-knit community. They know one another. And by the way, I must remember that they do not like to be called squatters' (Mda, 1995:48). The meanings of "squatter" and "squatting" can differ from places to place, from the illegal occupation of buildings to unauthorised land invasion. It is generally considered an acceptable term in Europe and North America, however in South Africa its use is not considered appropriate (Urban Foundation, 1991). South Africans find it particularly offensive because of stereotypes attached to former apartheid era racial policy (*ibid.*); such renaming and redefining of terminology occurred during the transition out of apartheid into the early post-apartheid years and reflected societal and political change. Given this, "informal settlement" will be the preferred term in this study with the caveat that it is semantically problematic because of the connotations with the formal/informal binary model.

Abbott, Martinez, and Huchzermeyer's (2001:iv) review of South African urban development (1990-2000) communicates the post-apartheid terminology and attitude toward illegal land invasion. In it, 'informal settlement' as the acknowledged appropriate term was defined as 'the occupation of land in the absence of a) legal rights to land, b) official approval of land use and development standards, and c) provision of infrastructure'. More recently Huchzermeyer and Karam (2006), among others, have again questioned the semantics around 'informal settlement' by disputing its inclusion in the UN-Habitat "slum" definition. In the introduction to their book, *Informal Settlements: A Perpetual Challenge?*, they distance their interpretation of informal settlement from the term "slum", instead stating, 'Our book is not addressed at "slums" as per the UN-Habitat definition, but rather at "informal settlements". We restrict this term to those settlements of the urban poor that have developed through unauthorised occupation of land' (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006). This is critical because it draws informal settlement away from the catastrophe rhetoric *vis-a-vis* the binary model discussed in the previous section.

In contrast to much of the dialogue on formalist theory in the 1970s, MacKrell (1974:12) describes "squatting" (informal settlement) thus: 'The poor throughout the world have quietly been making their own contribution to a twentieth century planning phenomenon that has not yet received quite the acclaim that others have

enjoyed: the shantytown'. His wording implies that the urban poor deserve recognition for their process of developing spaces to fit their needs. He argues this as a global phenomenon. Declaring that it is occurring largely on the boundaries of cities in Latin America, parts of Europe, Africa and India. Further, he articulates what he believes are several key points of the informal settlement process. First he defines the actor, 'The squatter is, in the strict sense of the word, a person settling on land without holding title' (McKrell, 1974:12). Second, he acknowledges the scale of this phenomenon: 'it is not just the occupation of land that has made the squatter so much a figure of interest, but the effectiveness with which this has been done on such a large scale' (*ibid.*). Third, he emphasises respect for the obstacles that must be overcome in the process: 'the determination the people have had in constructing and organising their own housing settlements, while resisting the pressures for their removal' (*ibid.*). And finally, he recognises the spatial and physical consequence of this process as 'a constant fear of intervention in the building process, and a need for the hasty and impoverished minimal budget structures that give the squatter settlements their air of transience and impoverishment' (*ibid.*).

At first glance McKrell's (1974) hailing of the urban poor's ingenuity and self-organisation seems aestheticising, reminiscent of de Soto's (2000:37) 'heroic entrepreneur', but I would argue that it is more in line with Bayat's (2000:536) 'quiet encroachment', Hill and van Heerden's (2003) social negotiation and Simone's (2004:407) 'people as infrastructure'. These concepts reflect informal residents' engaging with the city to define their socio-economic place. Simone (2004:410) defines this mechanism as 'conjunctions [that] become a coherent platform for social transaction and livelihood'. In his earlier work in the Middle East, Bayat (1997, 2000) describes a model of informality or 'quiet encroachment' as an operative logic with indistinct edges. He states that this reflects the residents' lifelong, illegal engagement with the city to extract subsistence and to attempt to improve their circumstances; arguing that in a given locale it is an individuals' mechanism to quietly impose themselves in space that is otherwise reserved for the elite (*ibid.*). He maintains that this localised form of urbanisation is changing the demographic of the city at a rate that the individual actor can control, however he also points out his or her inability to play a part in any political change (*ibid.*). It should be noted that this was written well

before the revolution that occurred to oust Egypt's President Mubarak in 2011. Turning to a South African context, Hill and van Heerden (2003) describe a mechanism of similar socio-spatial change. Their sociological study of Zevenfontein (an informal settlement on the northwestern edge of Johannesburg) points to social negotiation as the key process for urban engagement. They assert that, 'Informal settlements [are] not simply concretions on the landscape. They are the manifestations of thought processes' (*ibid.*:16). In other words there is a logic or system at work, which allows residents to continually respond to the changing environment, to generate livelihood and to build living spaces, as they put it, 'the existence and form [of Zevenfontein] has been shaped by ideas and decisions made in response to the conditions and preconditions under which people live' (*ibid.*:16). Also in the context of Johannesburg, Simone (2004) writes of an active engagement with the city highlighting social perception and intervention as the mechanism. Speaking to urban informality in the larger context of Africa he states that 'residents experience new forms of solidarity through their participation in makeshift, ephemeral ways of being social' (*ibid.*:426). He argues that through these social contacts informal actors build links, within their own *milieu* and outside it, that allow them to negotiate complex layers and build commonality (*ibid.*). He uses the term 'negotiate' to describe the continual acts of interpretation that stakeholders must make to evaluate people and situations that may assist in their own subsistence (*ibid.*). This he asserts is the 'invisible logic' that is the agency of informality (*ibid.*).

Aligned with this notion of informality Roy and AlSayyad (2004) identify similar key elements in their definition of informality: 'the term urban informality indicate[s] an organising logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself...suggest[ing] that informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another' (Roy, 2005:148 citing Roy and AlSayyad 2004). In a more recent paper Roy (2011:233) adds to this, elaborating on the socio-spatial significance of the settlement edges: 'Urban informality then is not restricted to the bounded space of the slum or deproletarianised/entrepreneurial labour; instead, it is a mode of the production of space that connects the seemingly separate geographies of slum and suburb'. It is worth noting the recurring themes of an organising logic, transactions, negotiation

and connections as elements that have potential to further explore informality's socio-spatial role in the city, as they will be used in the study's methodology.

This brings to light a question which is critical to this study, if we take away the implied line between formal and informal how are informal settlements bound or spatially defined? This is partly addressed by the discussion in the previous paragraphs, which identifies a definitional shift from informality rooted largely in economics to informality rooted in socio-cultural phenomena. Further clarity can be found in Clifford's (1994) examination of diaspora in the context of cultural study. He suggests that the contemporary use of the term diaspora must include migration and immigration (*ibid.* citing Tololian, 1991), which then brings it into the realm of this thesis study. Clifford (1994:303) goes on to assert that in 'the domain of shared and discrepant meanings, adjacent maps and histories...[i]t is now widely understood that the old localising strategies [of evaluating socio-spatial events] - by bounded *community*, by organic *culture*, by *region*, by *centre* and *periphery* - may obscure as much as they reveal'. Further, he builds on Rouse's (1991) work stating that 'Separate places become effectively a single community "through the continuous circulation of people, money, goods, and information"' (*ibid.*:303 quoting Rouse, 1991). Here the useful idea is space defined by action rather than ideology. Bringing the discussion back into the context of Africa, Mbembe (2000) makes a similar point in a discourse on the continent's history of regional boundaries. He states that the contemporary "formal" definition of bounded space is a post-colonial legacy and further asserts that pre-colonial space was defined by relativity not boundary, 'by an imbrication of multiple spaces constantly joined, disjoined and recombined through wars, conquests, and the mobility of goods and persons' (*ibid.*:263). In a later paper he makes the same point at the scale of sub-city, stating that space definition is 'Driven by social actors in negotiation and interaction with formal, informal, and overlapping boundaries, this process [of reterritorialisation] is constituted of and through both discursive representations and material practices' (Mbembe, 2001a: 2-3).

Mbembe (2001a:2) also argues that recognising social action as the force behind spatial definition is not enough, instead he suggests that we must also understand

the social practices themselves, 'The process of reterritorialisation itself is neither the simple outcome of voluntarism nor the effect of structural determinism'. Countering predominantly economic based development models he states that 'stylized, formalized approach to economic life, very close to mathematical reasoning, fails to grasp this diversity and complexity' (Mbembe, 2001a:3). Similarly, Dovey and King's (2011:13) description of informal settlement is based on actions: '*settling*, as on unclaimed and often unbounded land...*inserting*, into the uninhabited...*attaching*... onto the structures of the formal city'. This creates a very different image from the one in the previous section: formality and informality defined by clear edges as opposed to informality woven into a larger urban fabric.

Though Mbembe and Nuttall's 2004 paper met with some controversy over its treatment of planning and urban development efforts in South Africa (Chipkin, 2005; Watts, 2005), they make the valid point that to understand how the pieces of the city fit together one must understand the socio-spatial practices of the residents. They suggest a need for further empirical study to understand informal residents' spatial habits thus illuminating the mechanism of imbrication in the urban landscape. This is echoed by Doherty and Silva (2011) in their paper based on fieldwork in the *favela* Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro. They argue that it is through ethnographic understanding that the extent of 'the daily relationships of business and lives...are clearly enmeshed in both what is usually considered the formal and the informal parts of urban life' (*ibid.*:30). They go so far as to break down the consecutive actions of a resident as "formal" or "informal" as they go through their day: the ceaseless back and forth soon becomes a fused blur. In other words, when you really examine the *de facto* lives of the residents in the informal districts it becomes apparent that they are just one more piece of a hybridised city (*ibid.*). This goes back to what the Urban Foundation (1991) attempted to articulate in the early 1990s in South Africa, albeit in the language of segregation, that empirical data could be used to debunk the formal/informal rhetoric. They made the argument that among the black population, formal and informal households shared many of the same socio-economic characteristics, therefore suggesting that the informal residents should be considered part of the formal black housing population with a different house typology (*ibid.*). One can't help but ask again: what is the informal? Doherty and Silva's (2011:30) response,

‘what is perceived as informality is not just a construction of the formal but also serves as a dangerous basis for policies’, leads us back to the discussions in sections 2.1 and 2.2, that “informality” is a palatable concept that serves the agenda of larger politico-economic forces such as neoliberalism and globalisation.

In order for informality to become an idiom of urbanisation, as Roy (2011) suggests, it must bypass these conventions. Perhaps Huchzermeyer’s (2011) argument can help. Using Lefebvre’s “slum” tolerability theory, she states that in the face of the intolerable (government drives of illegal eviction, relocation and inadequate basic services) ‘informal settlements are made tolerable by those who inhabit them’ (*ibid.*: 82-3). This implies the significance of the residents themselves. Borrowing from the earlier work of AlSayyad (2004:9), we ask, ‘who are these urban informals?’. Studying spatial habits as suggested in the previous paragraphs by Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) and Doherty and Silva (2011), can potentially unravel the stories of those who live in informal communities. As well as heightening understanding, this will serve to draw the conversation away from the growing popularity in a “slum” aesthetic depicting a homogenous poor living in squalor. These stereotypes begin to break down under the weight of evidence such as Bayat’s (2007:588) description of informal settlements in the Middle East: ‘[they] are not simply poverty belts but are also home to many middle-class urbanites, professionals and civil servants’. Similarly, I have documented informal settlements in the greater Johannesburg area where residents include: university students, civil servants, religious leaders, activists, rural migrants and so on (Kornienko, 2010). In reality, the resident demographic changes not only from region to region but settlement to settlement. This makes the sort of *tabula rasa* interventions suggested by the formal/informal binary interpretation impossible without erasing the histories and identities of the settlement residents.

This leads to the final point in this dialogue on informality, the role of social capital (Martin and Mathema, 2006 and Dovey and King, 2011). This seems an appropriate element in this section’s discussion given the emphasis of much of the literature on social relations and negotiation being key to informality. Putnam (2000:22) breaks the concept of social capital into two main ideas: first, ‘bonding capital’, which holds

the community together; and second, 'bridging networks', which form links outside the community. Martin and Mathema (2006:133) root their argument in Putnam's (1995) model, that shared values are what 'support and control' a community. Haferburg *et al* (2009:177) suggest that 'Putnam sees [social capital] as a collective resource that provides a measure for how well societies perform'. In this sense it can be used as a measure of informality's worth as part of the available housing stock. While this model seems useful it is made richer by including the works of Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1989). Coleman's (1988:100-1) idea that social capital involves 'the *relations* among persons...[that] facilitate productive activity' is a significant contribution as it ties in with the earlier ideas regarding individual livelihood as achieved through social negotiation. He goes on to state that it is the 'obligation and expectation...information flow...and norms accompanied by sanctions' which are the glue that holds this system together (*ibid. Ibid.*:119). This also supports the idea of livelihood through a social negotiation model as it begins to define a mechanism of functionality. His inclusion of expectation is also constructive in this context, my fieldwork data in later chapters will show that expectation is a strong binding agent in South African informal settlements and in the informal housing arena at large. Perhaps the most useful idea to be drawn from these two parallel social capital models is the link of social relations and productive activity which connects with the earlier discussion on informality. Diverging somewhat from Putnam and Coleman, Bourdieu (1989:16) bases his model on what he terms the 'structuralist revolution': applying the relational ideas of this movement to the social context, 'which identifies the real not with substances but with relations'. This draws a thread back to Clifford (1994) and Mbembe's (2000) ideas earlier in the discussion on defining space through action. Bourdieu (1989:17) goes on to describe the power of social capital as the, 'aces in a game of cards, in the competition for the appropriation of scarce goods', which brings the model more in line with the other two models just discussed. Further, both Bourdieu and Putnam stress that the character of the social relationship within an association plays a significant part in the level of benefit an actor is able to extract. Returning to Martin and Mathema (2006) who contend that the strong social bonds formed in the process of informal settlement; and Dovey and King's (2011) notions of 'settling', 'inserting' and 'attaching'; we see the types of relationships that are suggested to promote social capital.

The discussion on social capital brings together many of the elements of this chapter. Going back to the beginning with Huchzermeyer and Karam's (2006) definition of informal settlement centred around the occupation of land, which articulates action rather than ideology and which cultivates the social bonds that set the stage for the production of social capital. This, then, powers the drive to build linkages with the city at large which becomes the means through which residents are able to negotiate livelihoods and living spaces and integrate themselves into the urban fabric. Unlike the formal/informal model this concept of informality is messy one, which goes along with Liggett's (2009:103) suggestion that 'knowledge of urban life should look at the successfully shared and contested spaces of everyday life, reading their ebbs and flows in their historical particularities'.

section 02.4 Two further schools of thought on informality: urban subalternity and insurgent planning

The discussions around subaltern and insurgency do not carry the bulk of literature that the two models discussed in section 02.2 and 02.3 do. However, they warrant attention. The dialogue on subaltern is entangled by differing interpretations of the theory. This section begins with a sketch of the primary ideas being put forth, and then goes on to examine the origin of the insurgency concept and its implications, as expressed in the recent literature. There is then a short synopsis of the chapter to this point as the next section shifts to analyses and interventions in informal settlement.

section 02.4.1 Subalternity and the agency of the urban poor

The "subaltern" was first used in a sociological sense by Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci synonymously with the proletariat (Morton, 2007). Similarly, a great part of the post-colonial discussion around subaltern, led largely by the Subaltern Studies Collective (SSC), centres on the historiography of the underrepresented and unrecognised lower classes. However pre-dating the SSC, Said (1978) indirectly addresses the issue of the subaltern in his book *Orientalism*, although in the *Afterward* in later editions he acknowledges the connection to subaltern. He argues that Europe's imagined exotic, backward landscapes of the Orient created mythologies that lay the foundation of the "us" and "them" binary model (*ibid. Ibid.*).

He argues that this model in turn laid the foundation for the dominating traditions of colonialism.

Later, as part of the SSC, Sarkar's (1984) work parallels the dynamic in Said's theory, examining the relationship of colonial era power and the subaltern through the lens of domination and subordination. Also in the context of India, Guha (1988) contends that this lack of "voice" was related to limited political mobilisation (political agency). He argues that mobility for the subaltern has historically been horizontal and characterised by violence as opposed to the vertical mobilisation of the elite characterised by association with colonial adaptation (*ibid. Ibid.*). As part of this discussion, Chakrabarty (2002), also a member of the SSC, explores the Gramscian roots of the term, defining it as an oppressed group that is incapable of political engagement; is continually fragmented by the ruling parties; and whose primary goal is self-preservation. Alternatively, Spivak (2005:476) draws from both Gramsci and Guha and puts forth another definition of subaltern: 'Subalternity is where social lines of mobility, being elsewhere, do not permit the formation of a recognisable basis of action'. One of the contentious parts of subalternism is the question of an individual's level of agency: one's ability to act for oneself. Barker (2005) points out that Marx, Foucault, and Giddens have all waded in on this issue. Spivak (2005) states that she came to her definition of subaltern through a Marxian understanding. She finds Marx's statement 'they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented' to be key. This, she states, must be understood via Marx's concept that 'the same group of people are, and are not, a class depending on whether they have a consciousness of class' (*ibid.*:476). In other words, an individual is limited by her or his level of abstract reasoning. Baker (2005) suggests that alternatively and parallel to Sarkar (1984), Foucault asserts that through controlling the arena in which actors operate, power becomes the force behind cultural regulation and therefore an individual's ability to act. Barker (2005:234) does go on to comment that in Foucault's (1987) later work he concedes that the individual's acknowledgement of his or her own desires can alter this: 'a form of agency through a discursively constructed ethics centred on the care of the self'. Barker (2005) also points to Giddens' argument that actors are socially programmed to reproduce the conditions in which their known activities can be carried out and in this way social structure is

perpetuated. In other words actors do have the ability to act but tend to do so within a known realm. Barker (2005:234) suggests that the theories of both Foucault and Giddens give the actor 'agency as a consequence of determination'. In this sense determination is socially constructed within the realm of a domain, and through education, wealth, social status, and so on 'some actors have more domains of action than others' (*ibid.*:235). So while there is a level of agreement between Foucault and Giddens, Marx's definition of agency diverges with its element of metaphysics as a limiting factor to human action. Paraphrasing Spivak (2005), it is *knowing* class that limits the actor's ability to act. She defines agency as: 'institutionally validated action, assuming collectivity, distinguished from the formation of the subject, [that] exceeds the outlines of individual intention' (Spivak, 2005:476).

In his 1997, 2000 and 2007 papers, Bayat uses the term subaltern (and thus agency) as a descriptor in his discussions of informality in the Middle East. Although he does not define this term *per se*, in 1997 he asserts that people are drawn into urban informality/urban subalternity *via* 'the initial urge for an alternative mode of life...and...the lack of an institutional mechanism through which they can collectively express their grievances' (Bayat, 1997:58). And in his 2000 paper, he puts forth his theory of 'quiet encroachment', through which the actors successfully engage the city within specified confines, as discussed in the previous section (Bayat, 2000:545). He goes on to argue that the 'political poor' of Latin America, in other words, the urban poor who actively participate in politics and organised their own 'territorial social movements' are a regional exception (*ibid.*:539). He further asserts that his model 'capture[s] better the essence of urban subaltern politics in the conditions of globalisation' (2000:545). This mode of urbanisation is characterised by occasional 'open and fleeting struggles without clear leadership, ideology or structured organisation' (Bayat, 2000:546) and 'by flexibility, pragmatism, negotiation, as well as constant struggle for survival and self-development' (Bayat, 2007:579). He underlines the element of encroachment as a means to spatially expand and materially make gains - but this is always at the cost of the elite, not fellow poor. This view is not contra-hegemonic as subaltern is sometimes described but seems more driven by mainstream aspirations and is carried out largely below the detection of hegemonic forces. It should be noted that all of this was written before the 2011

uprisings in Egypt, which swept President Mubarak out of power and opened the door to the possibility of widespread reforms.

Roy's (2011) recent writing around the topic of subaltern presents a divergence in the interpretations of agency from both Bayat's (2000 and 2007) stance and that of the Subaltern Studies Collective. Pithouse (2012:7) points out that her intent is to examine the potential for the concept of urban subaltern as a counter to the 'ontological readings of "the slum", and in particular [the] apocalyptic readings'. Roy (2011:224) suggests that this current dialogue on the mega-city is a 'shorthand for the human condition of the global South'. However, subaltern as she envisages becomes 'a terrain of habitation, livelihood, self-organisation and politics' (*ibid.*:224); and as such, its paradigmatic role is a means to illuminate 'spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency', which are often ignored by urban theory (*ibid.*:224). Roy articulates the SSC's definition of subaltern as all classes of people outside of the elite, thus it becomes 'the condition of the people'. As such, it is a metaphor for popular: 'Subaltern politics is thus popular politics and popular culture' (Roy, 2011:226). The reason that this is important, Roy (2011) suggests, is that the SSC then makes the connection between popular politics and the agency of change, thus giving the subaltern a political identity and mechanism. She then goes on to point to subaltern cosmopolitanism (citing Gidwani, 2006 and McFarlane, 2008) as a means with which the subaltern gains political agency. But interestingly, her final argument is that for the concept of subaltern urbanism to become a new, progressive theory it must be bigger than all of this. She equates its power to 'the silence of [the popular voice in] our archives and annals', in other words, all the voices from the historically oppressed that have not been heard. What she is suggesting is a fundamental change in the thinking around subaltern, a topological and ontological shift that breaks through the socio-spatial urban stereotypes of "slum", mega-city, post-colonialism, and so on, to a new way of understanding the invisible, informal spaces in today's urban landscapes.

section 02.4.2 Insurgence: the urban poor staking their claim to the city

The concepts of insurgency and insurgency planning have potential to further engage with informal spaces. Insurgency is in a similar vein to subaltern in the bigger discussion on informality, however it has a different mechanism of action at its

core. The prominent voice in this area is James Holston with his work in Brazil. He bases his concept around the notions of urban citizenship and residents' right to the city, stating that he developed the idea of insurgency as a means to address 'the need to develop a different social imagination' to counter the modernist interpretations of the city (Holston, 1998:39). To this end he juxtaposes what he terms 'the insurgent spaces of citizenship' (*ibid.*:39) with modernist spaces. His underlying thesis is that modernism has effectively put the power of planning and development in the hands of the state and therefore there must be a counterbalance giving power to a representation of *de facto* social life. He refers to the subaltern as a potential group to participate in the action of insurgency (*ibid.*). Further, Holston (1998:40) questions the modernist premiss that the state should 'impose on the chaos of existing cities the construction of a new type of city based on its master plans' and thus the state's ability to 'change the society and manage the social by imposing an alternative future embodied in plans'. In essence, he questions this design and developmental control of the *future*, because he states that it effectively defines development agendas, 'creat[ing] new forms of social experience, collective association, perception, and personal habit' (*ibid.*:42). Stepping back for a moment, we recognise that Holston (1998) is suggesting state intervention on two points that the literature in the previous section suggested are central to informality. The first is collective association, which Putnam (1995) deems a key resource in social capital. And the second is perception, which Roy (2004) analysed in her debate on the aestheticization of poverty, *tabula rasa* interventions and the further entrench the formal/informal dichotomy.

Holston (1998) then contends that this modernist premiss in practice has led to trends of containing and moving indoors the "messy" socio-economic urban street life, which in turn, has effectively transformed public space into privatised public space (*ibid.*). He goes on to argue that this privatisation of society's spatial mode leads to controlled access and public stratification. He concludes that there is a need to ask 'the crucial question...how to include the ethnographic present in planning' (1998:46). His answer is to recognise spaces of insurgent citizenship: '[b]y insurgent, I mean a counter-politics that destabilises the dominant regime of

citizenship, renders it vulnerable, and defamiliarises the coherence with which it usually presents itself to us' (Holston, 2009:15).

Sandercock (1998:23) builds on Holston's (1998) ideas of insurgent spaces, suggesting that understanding 'liminal and "other" spaces' and the experiences of the people who live in them creates an opportunity to reexamine the city and its regulatory framework. She argues that the inclusion of citizenship and rights to the city in insurgency makes regulatory framework key to the concept (*ibid.*). Mirafteb (2009:35) also builds on Holston's (2008) work, defining informal settlement as: 'the material expressions of poor citizens' insurgency, organised residents enacting their universal citizenship mobilise to claim their entitlement to the city and to urban livelihood'. She uses the AEC in Cape Town, South Africa as an example of how 'insurgent citizenship practices...engage both the formal and informal arenas of politics, and aim to combine the struggles for redistribution and for recognition' (2009:39). The AEC acts as an umbrella covering smaller community groups in the Cape Town area. It is through these smaller, grassroots movements that residents use political and legal avenues to stake their claim on the city. Insurgency effectively brings the vocabulary of citizenship into the previous conversation about informality, which effectively forces the examination of the legal and social rights of the urban poor as members of the urban populace. Huchzermeyer (2011:81) underlines this, stating that 'An engagement with insurgence forces us to look beyond processes of informality to the actual people involved', which is key to this study.

This engagement also gives an opportunity to rethink how spatial insurgence occurs, and again, as in the previous sections, how spaces are defined. Earlier we discussed spatial articulation through social relations. Does cultural insurgence also have the power to define space? Can art and music, for example, as socio-cultural manifestations also define space? As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Daniels and Cosgrove (1988:1) argue that much can be learned about the built landscape through its inhabitants' cultural expression. Likewise, Cohen (1995) connects sound with geography, asserting that sound is as strong a form of cultural representation as visual depictions. This linking of space and socio-cultural

representations was the basis for the 2007 exhibit at New York City's Guggenheim Museum, *The Shapes of Space*⁶. It asked the question: how is space defined in today's society? In response artists redefined the museum's spatial boundaries, thus changing the visitors' visceral understanding of space. Likewise, Caldeira (2008:55) makes the point that artists from Sao Paulo's peripheral communities use 'Graffiti and *pixacao* [to] reclaim the streets, the facades, and the walls as spaces of contestation instead of separation'. In these examples sound and visuals take on the properties of insurgency, they become space defining tentacles in the urban landscape.

The literature on subaltern and insurgency in this section has endeavoured to present key points of these theories, which will in later chapters be incorporated into the theoretical framework for data collection and analysis in this study. These include the issue of agency as it concerns informal residents' ability to engage with the city; the use of subalternism as a mechanism to shift the paradigm currently used to address informality; and the concepts of insurgent citizenship as a means to articulate informality's role as a mode of urban development from the bottom up.

The first four sections of this chapter have outlined theories which have and continue to guide much of the state response to informality. Modes of intervention will be addressed in the second half of the chapter. My definition of informal settlement for the context of this thesis study, as stated in this chapter's introduction, has drawn heavily from the body of literature that contributed to this dialogue. The articulation of socio-spatial negotiation in the work makes it particularly relevant to this thesis study's spatial investigation of the role of informal settlement as one of many integrated complexities in the urban landscape. Additionally, the dialogues on the politico-economic forces of capitalism and neoliberalism that have had and continue to have a determining influence on informality were useful to an understanding the wide-spread embrace of the formal/informal binary model. Cultural readings of

⁶ In a broader context, Piotr Uklansk explores the idea of music defining space in his work *Untitled (Dance Floor)*, 1996 exhibited at the Guggenheim New York City: *The Shapes of Space* (April 14 – September 5, 2007). It is an installation piece in which people and music interact and sound rather than solid form defines space.

space, as were exemplified particularly in the literature on insurgency, contribute to the study's interest in expression of place in informality.

section 02.5 The formal/informal binary response: does this model equate to urban spatial partition?

'[Informal settlements] are so economically, spatially and socially integrated with their urban contexts that most developing cities are unsustainable without them, yet the desire to remove them persists and is linked to issues of urban imagery and place identity' (Dovey and King, 2011:11).

Thus far, the discussion on informality has been largely in the theoretical arena, now it shifts to the practices of response toward this sector. The perception of informality, as has been explored to this point, whether academic, popular, technocratic or political, carries significant social and spatial consequences. It is important to note at this point that perception, as Fried (2000) states, is an emotional response to conditions, is socio-culturally rooted and is therefore partial. As such, it can become a powerful precursor to interpretation and intervention. It can manifest on many scales: how a person is perceived, or a genre of music, or a community, or a city, or the continent of Africa, or the global South. This emotional response can become one of the driving forces behind the policies and practices of urban development. This section begins with a discussion on the place that perception holds in the formal/informal binary model and then evolves through analyses to the *de facto* spatial realities of this development paradigm.

The literature in the previous sections has reflected that perception is significant in all the informal models. However, it could be argued that it carries the most weight in the formal/informal binary paradigm. The manipulation of that perception - the embedding of the "us" and "them" - is a point of concern with this approach because of the social and economic consequences at stake. This is exemplified by the apprehensive tone in much of the literature regarding the reemerging "slum" term (Huchzermeyer, 2006, 2011; Gibson, 2007; Dovey and King, 2011; Roy, 2011, among others). The rebranding of "slums" started by UN-Habitat and carried on by popular media, tourism, etc. has resulted in a shift in people's perception of not only those communities but of whole cities as well. I use the marketing term "rebrand", because as Gibson (2007) and Roy (2011) among others point out, there is a deliberate marketing element to this campaign for both image and economic ends.

Holston (1998 and 2009) and Jaguariba (2004), both of whose work is based in Brazil, use the term defamiliarisation to describe the contemporary re-viewing of those parts of the city now termed “slums”. As was discussed earlier, Holston (1998) also uses it to describe the application of modernist theory to the city. The term defamiliarisation was first coined by Viktor Shklovshij (1965) in 1917 in an essay critiquing Formalism. He describes it as an aesthetic device that opposes ‘aesthetic perception to habitual recognition...for creating the strongest possible impression on a reader or viewer’ (Crawford, 1984:209, 210). Shklovskij (1965:13) describes defamiliarisation as the mechanism in art to ‘make the stone stony...to give the the sensation of things as seen, not known...to make things “unfamiliar” to increase the difficulty and length of their perception...the object in art being itself unimportant’. Crawford (1984) argues that it is the author/artist’s created tension between ‘aesthetic perception and habitual recognition’ that forces a new understanding of an object by overcoming the everyday response to it. Given this, Holston’s (1998 and 2009) and Jaguariba’s (2004) use of defamiliarisation in the context of urban development is suggesting that informality is being addressed not in its real form but as a crafted perception.

Assuming this concept of defamiliarisation, what are the consequences in the context of urban development? If one asks why a new perception would be put forth, the answer is twofold. First is economics, following the thread back to the influences of politico-economic trends we see the marketing of “world class” competitive cities through the principles of globalisation and neoliberalism. In other words, as AlSayyad (2004) puts it, attracting international investment becomes an underlying motivation to the presentation of urban image. Additionally, as Gibson (2007) pointed out above, there is the realm of development funding, which may start with the best intentions but can become driven by international investment. Tolsi (2008) highlights this phenomenon in his review *Slumming it with the NGO jet-set*, in which he argues that development agencies and NGOs are thriving while little changes for the poor. The second consequence of the perception response is social: it is the partitioning of socio-economic groups. This perpetuation of the “us” and “them” mentality further entrenches spatial divides in cities.

How is spatial perception kept alive? With the title of his mass marketed book *Planet of Slums*, Davis (2006) implies an image. He uses the new “slum” definition to come to the conclusion that the number of global slum dwellers has shot up over the billion mark. However as Gilbert (2007:706) points out, ‘[n]ow that the term [slum] has been extended to the ill-serviced, flimsy accommodation of the periphery *most* urban Africans, Asians and Latin Americans live in slums’. In support of this, Huchzermeyer (2011) cites Karanja (2010) to critically assert that the authenticity of these numbers is now being questioned; because as she and others (Davis, 2006; Gibson, 2007; Dovey and King, 2011) point out, these high numbers have real consequences in urban development agendas. Huchzermeyer (2011:77) draws attention to South Africa’s ‘entire drive to eradicate and control informal settlements’, which she argues ‘is based on quantitative target-setting, with a focus on the informal structure of the shack’. This highlights the South African government’s ‘perceived MDG obligation to achieve “slum-” or shack-free cities’, which has largely defined their development policy (*ibid.*:112). This trend was magnified by the marketing of the first ever global gathering for a mega-event on the scale of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. In the eyes of FIFA and the South African government, the global perception of the event as a whole and cities where matches took place were at stake (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2009 and Miraftab, 2009). Stadiums and public viewing areas, which would be visited and seen via television media throughout the world were vetted for their marketability (Haferburg *et al*, 2009). In some cases venues were moved away from areas of informal settlement deemed unsightly or the communities were cleared (McDougal, 2010). In fact, as Haferburg (2011) points out FIFA showed its power by countermanding the City of Cape Town’s spatial plan to socio-economically integrate the main stadium location, instead insisting on its construction in a more upscale seaside in the city centre. This was seen again in 2011 for the United Nations Climate Change Meeting in eThekweni (Durban), informal communities were cleared to improve visitors’ perception of the city (Abahlali, 2012). In these examples controlling perception becomes a segregating (if not racial then economic) force that ‘serves the territorialising urban agenda of the globalising market’ (Huchzermeyer, 2011:72). This is just a very small window into the consequences of perception and spatial planning, and already one sees how quickly it becomes very complex. Earlier sections discussed the parallels between the influence of globalisation and

neoliberalism on urban development trends and the formal/informal binary development model. Here we see some of the *de facto* consequences of those on residents' right to a place in the city.

Roy (2004) explores how perception can impact the development of the poorer neighbourhoods of the city from the perspective of the design and planning professions, suggesting that socio-cultural interpretations can carry into professional responses. Earlier sections of literature review reflected how particular vocabulary and imaging can lead people's perception in one direction or another. Roy (2004) implies that the design profession's perception of informal settlements can greatly impact their level of engagement and the character of their interventions. Given this, she outlines two scenarios. The first is the interpretation of informal settlement as *tabula rasa* living environments, implying an absence of any innate worth. The spatial implication of this is significant. It means the settlement is viewed such that, 'the history of the lived landscape was ignored' (Roy, 2004:296), making it easier to replace or overlay with a community master plan. The second is the aestheticization of poverty. This she describes as the temptation to be seduced by unique examples of architecture and ingenuity, in other words the vernacular character of settlements becomes bucolic, which can lead to the built form overshadowing the needs of the residents. Roy (2004:299-300) stresses that approach often 'mutes the social, political, and economic narratives that also underlie poverty'. By her account, both of these scenarios are problematic in that the residents are perceived as insignificant to the development process. In other words both of these scenarios homogenise the informal residents. Holston and Caldeira (2008) and Simon (2011) also call attention to the danger of homogenising settlements and settlement dwellers, stressing the need to acknowledge and respond to the layers of human, social, and physical complexity that is a result of existing urban development processes. Ignoring this complexity effectively takes the human element out of the development process, thus leading to analyses and follow-on interventions that give less weight to the social elements of informality.

One example of this reductionism in South Africa is the work of Hillier and Hanson (1984:82) based predominantly on form and fundamentally following the formal/

informal binary model; their 'model of analysis sees a settlement as a bi-polar system arranged between the primary cells or buildings (houses, etc.) and the carrier (world outside the settlement)'. They explore this with the mechanism of "space syntax", a framework based on the idea that while some of the spatial configurations of a settlement are culturally unique there are significant elements that are the same across all settlements. Using this system Hillier and Hanson (1984) went on to extrapolate a complex mathematical formula to model and predict settlement form, they suggest that '[t]he structure of space between these two domains is seen as a means of interfacing two kinds of relations: those among the inhabitants of the system and those between inhabitants and strangers' (*ibid.*:82). Although this shows that Hillier and Hanson did take into consideration a social element to informal communities, similar to what we discussed earlier as social capital, their formulaic prescription for settlement design is not based on that dynamic. In other words, the human component is secondary, as they put it:

'The essence of the method of analysis is that it first establishes a way of dealing with the global physical structure of a settlement without losing sight of its local structure; and second – a function of the first – it establishes a method of describing space in such a way as to make its social origins and consequences a part of the description' (Hillier and Hanson, 1984:82).

The residents' subordinate role in this model is further implied by Hillier and Hanson's (1984) use of an army camp and the relationship of home base to hiding places in hide-and-seek in developing their methodology. In reality the point of dissociation between their "spatial syntax" formula and informal settlement is that informal settlements do not follow these sorts of pre-set spatial rules. Perhaps this disjunction is a result of the social element gaining only an abstract nod in this model.

Similarly, Mills (1992), also working in South Africa, gives primary focus to form, while marginalising the social aspects of housing:

'Given South Africa's heterogeneous population there would appear to be little value in specifying a "good" housing solution. What is necessary is a bold, creative vision based on design/delivery principles which can be adapted and realized in different socio-economic, political and physical contexts. In this way local needs can be accommodated in terms of national concerns' (Mills, 1993:56).

He acknowledges the socio-cultural complexity but then dismisses it in terms of a legitimate element of the development process. His ideas reflect the concepts of modernism and those developed in the "spatial syntax" paradigm (Mills, 1993). Further, he points out the connection between form and ideology: 'essentially built

forms establish a crucial dimension of the ideological framework' (*ibid.*:20). The implication here is one of defamiliarisation, of using built form to alter residents' behavioural interaction with urban spaces.

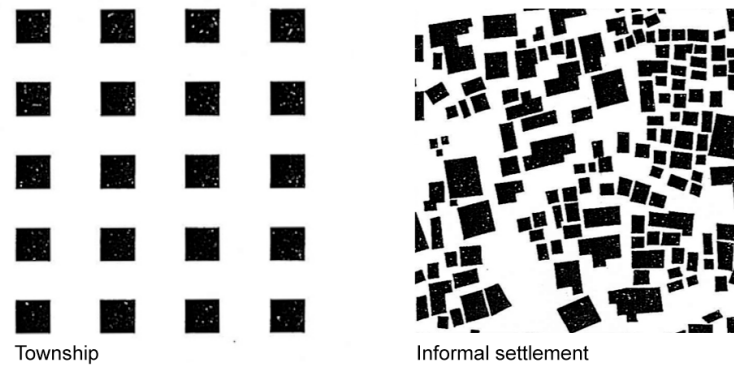


Figure 02.1: Township versus informal settlement morphologies (reproduced from Mills, 1993:57).

He disagreed with the concurrent housing typologies such as the township model (Figure 02.1) pointing out their state imposed political associations, their socially sterile environments and their spatially fragmenting morphology. Instead, he suggests a spatial system consisting of a limited number of built form options; a predefined relationship of built form to open space; and a quantitatively measured integration ("space syntax") with the city at large (Figure 02.2). While Mills' (1992 and 1993) proposed methodology attempts to spatially integrate low-income housing into the city at large, like Hillier and Hanson's (1984) plan, its autonomy from the lived histories of informal residents makes it a largely technocratic response.

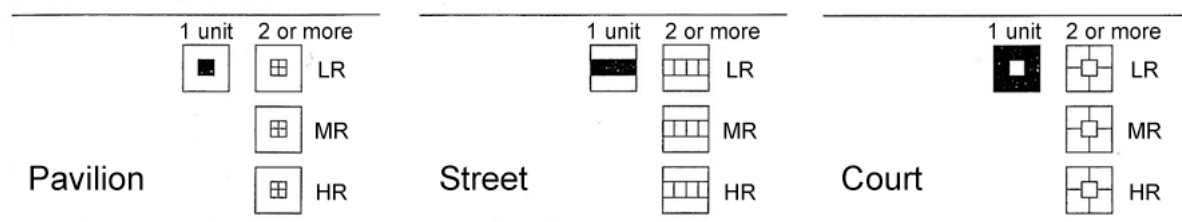


Figure 02.2: Alternative housing typologies proposed by Mills (reproduced from Mills, 1993:60).

Remaining in the context of South Africa, Spiegel's (1999) and Robins' (2002) work examines the social impact of the formal/informal paradigm, by focusing on the *de facto* consequences of defamiliarisation in the transition from informal to formal housing. In other words, they explore the human consequences of such technocratic

practices as those just discussed. Their findings show that spatially altering a community also socially alters it.

Spiegel (1999) uses anecdotal evidence to make the argument that physical formalisation or the change from an informal settlement to a formally planned residential environment brings about a “formalising” of social behaviours. This is exemplified in a resident’s comment that “People have changed...These concrete houses have made them totally different people from what they used to be...they lock themselves in their houses. They no longer visit” (Spiegel,1999:5). Spiegel’s (1999) study highlights significant social features of informal settlement life. These include multi-purpose spaces, sharing of goods and services, women within shouting distance of each other as they do chores, family reciprocity, and community cohesion (*ibid.*). Conversely, in a formal setting he calls attention to such social attributes as: new furniture and appliances; the need to own your own things; and less informal socialising especially among women (*ibid.*).

Like Spiegel (1999), Robins (2002:538) also points out that the introduction of formal housing is, ‘seen [by residents] to undermine social cohesion’. In addition, his work calls attention to the lack of consideration for the informal social actors and the informal economies in the formalisation process when using the formal/informal development model (*ibid.*). Robins infers that the planning professionals’ lack of understanding of informal residents’ spatial use and of the local, informal relationships that lead to livelihoods, undermines efforts to formalise settlement communities. Thus he questions the contribution of professionals to informal settlement development. He points out that this sentiment goes beyond the design profession to government and policy makers: ‘informal settlements, I would argue, are generally viewed by planners and the state as the antithesis of modern and virtuous living’ (*ibid.*:524). Colin Marx (2003:300), in his discussion on post-apartheid housing policy and practice, reiterates this sentiment, ‘Where “informal” is equated with inferior, the *solution* is to make the informal settlement more formal and hence improve it’. Robins (2002:542) concludes his paper by asserting that informal settlements and the people who live in them are not ‘blank slates or empty vessels, but rather individuals and groups with diverse cultural practices, identities and life

experiences' and questioning who it benefits to mold these communities into sterile suburbs. Again Marx (2003:300) echoes the view of Robins (2002) in the statement that 'The "improvements" and how they are to be obtained are rarely defined by the voices and needs of the informal settlement dwellers but by powerful people in the formal realm of society'. Additionally, he infers the loss of autonomy by the informal dwellers in this process and acknowledges the external forces at play.

Reading between the lines, all of these examples have in various ways described what is arguably the biggest spatial outcome of the formal/informal model, the relocation of communities to the urban periphery. Returning to the global housing dialog, peripheralisation is often not the intent of urban housing policy at the outset, but becomes so because its practice is economically viable due to land costs. In Brazil, the *favela* eradication and resettlement approach from 1961-1975 led to relocations in urban peripheries lacking public transportation, infrastructure and social services (Pamuk and Cavallieri, 1998). This was paid for by foreign development funding. Similarly, capital subsidy schemes were introduced into Chile in 1978 resulting in relocation projects on the urban periphery due to land costs (Smit, 2006). Although the dwellings were an improvement, surveys show that 50% of those relocated in Santiago in the 1980s would prefer to live in the "slums" where they had come from (*ibid.*). This practice spread across Latin America and other parts of the world (including South Africa) throughout the 1980s and 1990s, dramatically changing the urban landscapes and the livelihood capabilities of the poor. The globalising of this trend was facilitated by the adoption of parallel policies and macro-economic reforms by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the 1980s, the 'policy in developing countries shifted from Welfarism to a market-driven approach' (Abbott *et al*, 2001:iii).

This section began with a discussion on the role that both actual and manipulated perception plays in the formal/informal model of urban development. This included a focus on the use of the aesthetic device defamiliarisation to change residents' spatial expectations and use. It then questioned the ability to adequately acknowledge the complexity of informal settlement using the formal/informal paradigm. This was then exemplified in the analyses that followed, which are largely rooted in physical form

with only an abstract nod to the importance of the social capital. Finally, the consequences of taking the social element and the residents' autonomy out of urban development practice were highlighted.

section 02.6 Informal settlement as an element of an integrated urban development process

The literature reflects that the formal/informal model is the most prevalent paradigm in many developing cities. However, particularly in Latin America in the latter part of the 20th century there has been a shift toward holistic settlement upgrading (Pamuk and Cavallieri, 1998). Roy (2005) points out that some recent high-profile trends (de Soto, 2000; Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000) which on the surface seem integrating, in fact still treat informality as a fundamentally different sector. The *de facto* reality is often a blurring of two models, the consolidation of relocated communities or communities that have previously been considered informal receive tenure security and then consolidation occurs. This section uses case studies from the literature to examine different approaches to process based upgrading and theoretical investigations to reflect the shift toward holistic development.

The earlier discussion in section 02.2 reflected an increase in international research interest on the "informal sector" in the 1970s rooted in the urban influx of the 1950s and 1960s. As was alluded to this interest was largely in the economic sector. However, particularly in Latin America the informal housing sector gleaned research interest earlier than this. As Bromley (2003) points out, the English-speaking world became aware of these ideas in the 1940s through Joseph Cranes's published observations of earlier work in Puerto Rico. It was Crane who coined the phrase: 'aided self-help housing' (*ibid.*:273). The ideas of self-help housing became ubiquitous in the 1960s through publications by John Turner, William Mangin and Charles Abrams. Unarguably Turner's voice proved the most resonant.

The upgrading of George, an informal settlement in Lusaka, Zambia is an example of a World Bank supported infrastructure/self-help upgrading project in the late 1970s. The primary emphasis was on infrastructure, which included road, drainage and drinking water improvements. Schlyter's (1981) review is part of a longitudinal study focusing on how spatial use and social relationships were impacted by the project.

Overall she found that the residents praised the improvements but wanted more: health clinics, schools, police presence, garbage removal, better public transportation and electricity (*ibid.*). In addition, it became clear that the residents had certain spatial expectations: ‘people wanted to see their settlement turned into housing areas similar to the planned ones’ (*ibid.*:19). These expectations, she found, were related to the assumption that the straight lines of modern housing and its image of physical order would lead to social order and increased security. Consequently, given the residents’ choice the “spillover” greenfield area of the project was built using a grid.

However, Schlyter’s (1981) empirical evidence contrasted with the residents’ expectations. It showed that the original settlement with organic development patterns made social contact easier and had a greater level of social relations. Also in the existing area she found that residents did not tend to fence their stand (even after tenure security), which created overlapping garden spaces and fostered ‘good relationship to the neighbours [which] was almost uniformly the key feature of community life’ (*ibid.*:13). She suggests the importance of social capital (social relations, networks, and personal relationships) in informal settlements, and argues that it is directly impacted by the community’s spatial layouts. Figure 02.3 illustrates the important role of the water tap as an informal gathering space in the upgraded area of George. The “overspill” or formally developed area of George does not show an equivalent gathering space (Figure 02.4).

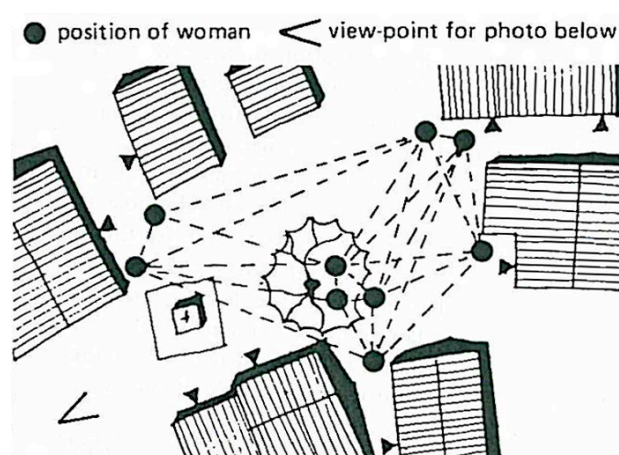


Figure 02.3: The pattern of communication between women in a group of houses in the informally developed area of George (reproduced from Schlyter, 1981:35).

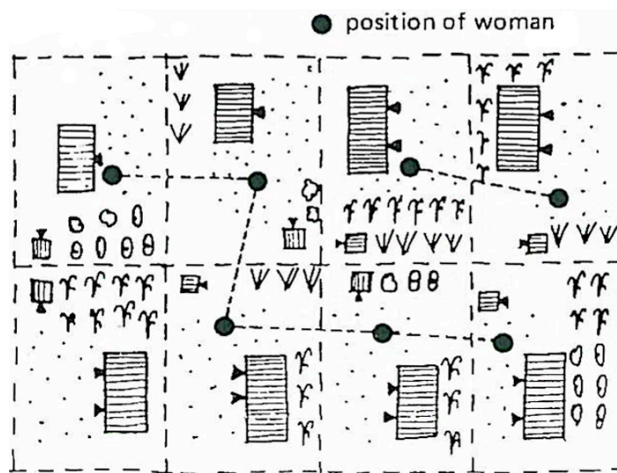


Figure 02.4: The pattern of communication between women in a group of houses on individual stands in the formally developed area of George (reproduced from Schlyter, 1981:44).

Schlyter (1981) identified that while spatial changes through the development of roads and standpipes occurred in the upgrading process these did not equate to negative changes in living patterns by the residents. One of the key elements of this may have been the innovative form of tenure legalisation used in the project that did not define individual plots (*ibid.*). However in the formally developed area with individual plots in a grid layout, significant changes in living patterns were observed (*ibid.*). Notably, at the beginning of the project a large percentage of residents chose to move to the “overspill” area where they would receive a larger stand and, through a financial loan, a new house. However the study showed that many in this group could not complete their houses or afford the loan costs and other fees. Schlyter (1981:51) comments that ‘projects which introduce service charges...worsen the health situation as people use their limited resources to build houses and pay fees instead of buying food’. In George, the result was twofold, the sale of residents’ partially finished stand and increased vulnerability (*ibid.*). The mismatching of expectation, delivery, and followup empirical evidence in the George project highlights the lack of real understanding of informality needed for integrated intervention.

In an earlier study in South Africa, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1977) had attempted to further this type of understanding, their comparative study focusing on low-income housing provision was intended to inform design and intervention. They put a holistic view of human need side by side with the unique qualities of urban locale, and

based their study on two assumptions: first, 'man both influences his environment and total man (physical, economic, cultural, social, psychological man) is influenced by that environment' (*ibid.*:7); and second, it is the qualities instilled by residents that give urban areas "urbanity" not the built form *per se*, as it varies widely. They defined urbanity as 'the generic term used here for those positive qualities which exist in urban areas' (*ibid.*:7). Given this, they looked at the relationship between humans and their environment and built a model (Figure 02.5) based on the inhabitants' use of the different sectors of the city.

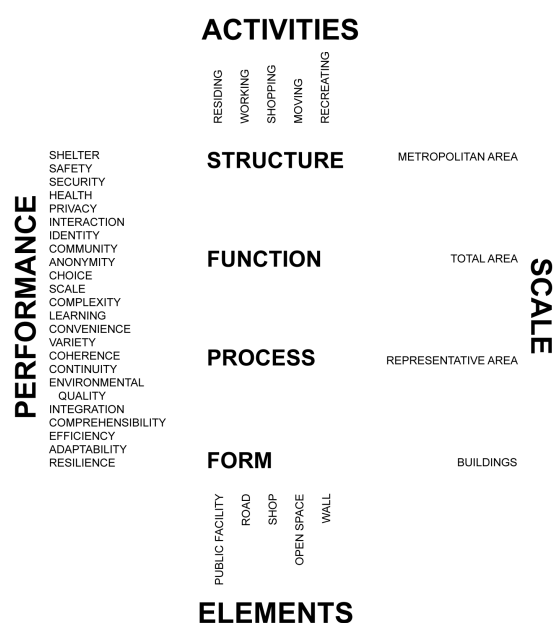


Figure 02.5: The 'thinking machine' is a methodology to analyse empirical data (reproduced from Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1977:8).

Given the study's design intent, four basic areas of focus were outlined: structure, function, process, and form; these became the backbone of their 'thinking machine', an evolving method to organise and evaluate the data collected from their urban fieldwork (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1977:8). They worked with the suppositions that: first, growth occurs naturally with new development responding to need; and second development responds to and is informed by major transportation arteries (*ibid.*).

Their findings reflect that 'at all scales, it is response to uniqueness of place which creates opportunity and thus variety, choice and richness of environmental condition' (*ibid.*11). And further, that integration is improved through added

relationships with different functions (*ibid.*). Additionally, the study found that there are three factors determining the quality and performance of small-scale spaces. The first is the clarity of the definition between public and private spaces and how they impact each other (*ibid.*). The second is the form and material make-up of the interface (*ibid.*). And the third is the level of integration of different uses and functions (social, cultural and commercial) into these interfaces (*ibid.*). The study concludes that 'the total housing problem is much more than merely the provision of houses – it is the provision of total living environments' (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1977:13).

The ideas from Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's (1977) study were never adopted in policy, however, their findings are important because they suggest the need for a better understanding of inhabitants and their environment, and a broader and more integrated approach to intervention. This sort of thinking led to a shift in housing delivery trends to a more holistic approach. Abbott (2002) points out that the World Bank, major development agencies and states came to realise that site-and-service housing provision was unsustainable. The increased vulnerability of livelihoods was among the concerns that pushed this shift away from infrastructure provision toward a broadening of the emphasis from housing delivery to integrated poverty alleviation. However, as Abbott (2002:306) states, 'By then...the bank had instilled a particular approach to development that was to have a long-term impact'.

Nevertheless trends began to change toward a more comprehensive approach. Parallels can be drawn between the work of Dewar and Uytenbogaardt and that of integrated development theorists such as Himanshu Parikh in the 1980s. Nicholson (1995:38) presents Parikh's work 'Slum Networking', as a 'spatial distribution and social formation'. Parikh operated on the supposition that informal development is informed by physical phenomena (in the case of Indore, India the *nallas*, or drainage channels) in the urban setting and that these could be used as a means to integrate infrastructure (*ibid.*). But more than just infrastructure, this model is a community-oriented approach that takes advantage of neighbourhood linkages and overlaps to integrate informality into the urban fabric. As Nicholson (1995:38) stresses, the true richness of this approach is that '[informal settlements] are not a burden upon the city, but an important part of its makeup', which is analogous to John Turner's

fundamental belief. Similarly, Smit (2006) stresses the need for a comprehensive approach to capacity building always with the aim to tackle poverty. He goes on to assert that one of the key factors for the sustainability of this approach is location: housing must be well located so that the residents can take advantage of economic and social opportunities.

Integrated development is an approach supported by UN Best Practices (UN-Habitat, 2001), and as such is a model largely borrowed from urban renewal initiatives in the global-north (Cameron, Odendaal, and Todes, 2004). They list social, economic and physical development as essential to this comprehensive approach; they also stress the need for business and human resource development (*ibid.*). This multi-dimensional approach requires a high degree of autonomy in the government agencies and strong relationships between local political actors and stakeholders. Cameron *et al* (2004) found the feasibility of these logistics a drawback in large projects, which they found became more technocratically driven. This has the potential to be problematic as it harks back to the top down approaches used under the formal/informal model.

Abbott (2002) states that the best examples of holistic planning have been done in Brazil and other areas of Latin America. In Brazil, physical transformation through the *plano global* approach occurred after the transition to democracy and the decentralising of institutions between 1983-1994 (Pamuk and Cavallieri, 1998). Paramount to this process was legislating the right to custody of land after 5 years of uncontested occupation in 1988 and the Pro Favela Law in 2003. Belo Horizonte, Brazil is one of the better documented examples (Abbott, 2002 and 2003 and Huchzermeyer, 2004). This case study took advantage of the Pro Favela Law of 1993, which, as in the case study discussed above in George, allowed the informal settlement's spatial patterns to be exempt from city planning codes and so remain largely as they had been developed by the residents. This approach uses Geographical Information System to identify informal zones and to link physical layouts with the social and economic information of the residents. This in turn precipitates locally appropriate, targeted interventions. While this sounds spatially fragmenting, the ability of the information system to articulate linkages throughout

the city and so build layers of complexity into the process results in an integrating of the urban fabric. Huchzermeyer (2004) cites Fernandes (1998) to suggest that a weakness of this project was the granting of title to individual plots, which lacks the innovation of the communal tenure granted in the case of George. This, Fernandes (1998) argues, was on the one hand inappropriate given the communal nature of spatial use in the *favela*; but on the other was in line with Brazil's legal traditions of individual property ownership.

Other countries recognising the capacity of informal settlements have addressed upgrading through tenure legalisation and service provision. However because they lack the comprehensive nature of such approaches as *plano global*, they often prove unsustainable. An example of this is Turkey. Baharoglu and Leitmann's (1998:116-117) chronicling of Turkey's *gecekondus* (informal settlements) is an example of how attitudes and policies change. In the 1940s the government demolished any signs of illegal land invasion. During the 1960s the power of the vote was realized, which gave these communities a voice: 'political interests were served by accepting *gecekondus* because illegal settlers had votes' (*ibid.*:116). As a result, policies with alternatives to demolition were put in place. In 1984 all existing *gecekondus* were given legal development status and services were implemented. This led to real steps forward in the spatial integration of the settlements and much needed infrastructural improvements, which in turn resulted in the urban poor feeling a part of the municipal fabric (Kornienko, 2006). However, in the 1990s land speculators bartered with informal residents and began to build in desirably located settlements. This led to an outcry by the middle-class resulting in a return to reactionary demolition policies that include relocating communities to the urban periphery (Baharoglu and Leitmann, 1998). Akpınar (2005) explains that historically the neighbourhoods of Istanbul have been socio-economically mixed, fostering a healthy society; however this has changed with the introduction of gated exclusivity becoming a common urban phenomenon raising concerns about the city's future. Today it is in the legalised *gecekondus* that mixed development occurs and Istanbul's historic neighbourhood patterns thrive.

This section drew on early South African spatial theory and international upgrading approaches to reflect on the dynamic of urban spatial use and the socio-spatial consequences of upgrading. The case study of George, Zambia which was a World Bank funded upgrading project in the late 1970s suggests fundamental socio-spatial problems with infrastructure based self-help schemes. This case is of particular interest because of the contrasting socio-spatial evolutions of the informal settlement and the “spillover” greenfield area. Ann Schlyter’s empirical study reflects the actions of the development stakeholders and the contrasting expectations of the informal dwellers. The section then went on to discuss the concepts behind integrated development, starting with early theoretical studies in South Africa and then moving on to case studies in India and Brazil. The literature reflects the increased interest in holistic development but also warns that the social and spatial outcome can be very different depending on the scale of the project and the scope of the technocratic involvement. The holistic attributes of the *plano global* approach used in Latin America stands out as socio-spatially sensitive. Finally the *gecekondus* in Istanbul were briefly explored as an example of politico-spatially influence on urban development.

section02.7 Can insurgency development become a model to achieve heteroglossic cities?

This chapter finishes with an examination of insurgent planning. The ideas of the previous section are encouraging because they reflect the acknowledgment of informal settlement as a legitimate element of the city, particularly the practices in *plano global*. However, as Liggett (2009) points out there is still cause for concern at the levels of technocratically driven, and therefore top down intervention. She also cautions the extent to which development models are being drawn from the global-North (*ibid.*). In contrast, Holston (2009) states that insurgent planning isn’t about emulating externally derived development models, instead, it claims urban citizenship and in doing so gains a substantive voice in the development process. The tone of the insurgent planning model is also worth noting as it begins to communicate the urgency powered by *de facto* human need that is evident in informal settlements. Further insurgency implies a role for informality as urban spatial activist.

Cameron *et al.* (2004) make the point, as discussed in the previous section, that the underlying concepts of integrated area development are rooted in the global-North. For Liggett (2009:101) this is problematic: 'Planning research and practice are over determined by their roots in Western-centric intellectual traditions', which she suggests affects 'what planning notices, and what it does'. In her description of insurgency planning, she suggests that it attempts to take planning from that tradition to the grittier realities of the global-South. The term insurgency itself implies a forcefulness that was not apparent in the development models discussed earlier. Yiftachel's (2009a:89) description is an evocative image of the essence of insurgency: "gray space" - positioned between the "whiteness" of legality/approval/safety, and the "blackness" of eviction/destruction/death'. This implies not the polite response to current neoliberal urban trends of integration discussed in the previous section, but a forceful insistence of inclusion from the grassroots. This harks back to the cogent words of Henri Lefebvre (1991:383) on spatial resolution; he asserts that, 'the state, born of the hegemony of class, has as one of its functions...the organization of space, the regularisation of its flows, and the control of its networks'. He goes on to insist that 'pressure from below therefore must also confront the state in its role' (*ibid.*:383). Similarly it is this confrontation that Zikode (2010a:54), as a shack dweller and activist himself, articulates: 'Our struggle and every real struggle is to put the human being at the centre of our society, starting with the most dispossessed'. What is heard through the words of the literature is a call for the urban poor to become the force of defamiliarisation addressing the state, to make - in the words of Viktor Shklovshij - the "slum slummy" in order to force the development stakeholders into a new dynamic, one between the aesthetic of perception and the habit of exclusion.

Among the tools available to the urban poor for this sort of forceful agency are the court, social movements and protests. In South Africa, the grassroots social movements and communities themselves use the courts and the political system, among other avenues, to pursue their socio-economic rights guaranteed in the Constitution. In this way they often become the antagonist to the political and development actors (van Dijk, personal communication, 26 February 2008). Miraftab (2009) and Huchzermeyer (2011) examine the N2 Gateway Project, a joint national,

provincial and municipal plan in Cape Town, which began as a upgrading project but became an enterprise to build 25,000 dwellings. The project involved the forced relocation of some 6000 residents to a transit camp 40km outside the city (Miraftab, 2009). This relocation was vehemently resisted by the residents through the AEC because of feared loss of livelihood (*ibid.*). The AEC, an umbrella for several grassroots social movements and crisis committees, were the voice of the informal residents' against the State. They demanded not just a right to a place in the city but to *their* place in the city, 'their struggle was against "privatisation of these basic rights which leads to dehumanisation of the poor"' (Miraftab 2009 quoted Wicox, interview 2002). But the government, backed by a controversial Constitutional Court ruling would not capitulate, the N2 highway connects the international airport to the city of Cape Town and there was fear of bad publicity around the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Such fights against the dehumanisation of the poor and urban spatial equity are the essence of insurgent development.

Miraftab (2009:45) asserts that there is a 'need for a new consciousness that liberates planning imaginations', in so doing she invokes the memory of 'Steve Biko, the father of the black consciousness movement in South Africa'. In other words she is calling for not only new innovative planning strategies, but strategies that give a nod to the long histories of activism and the fight for socio-spatial equity that exists not just in South Africa but in many post-colonial cities. The literature reflected in this section and the earlier section on insurgency theory argues that insurgency planning is fundamentally different from participatory planning. Liggett (2009) asserts that the participatory planning model brings the excluded in to move toward social justice; whereas the insurgency model brings the technocrats out to face the substantive issues of the informal dwellers.

Conclusion

This chapter has used informality models to frame a discussion which has shaped the definition of informal settlement as part of the larger spatial dialogue in this study. It began with a theoretical discussion on the politico-economic implications of the re-emergence and now wide-spread use of the term "slum". The literature suggests that the global embracing of this term goes hand in hand with the presiding neoliberal economic trends. As such, it becomes part of the hegemonic development dynamic,

in which local communities are influenced by government development practices that serve international investors. Urban spatial equality as a strategic goal has lost ground to aspirations of world class city status. These aspirations have narrowed acceptable urban images and as a result - harking back to the origins of the term “slum” - increased the intolerance for shacks communities that represent disorder, crime and disease. In South Africa, as will be shown in the next chapter, this is reflected in an intensifying of the formal/informal development model; in other words, in an increasingly clear distinction between acceptable formal and unacceptable informal.

This phenomenon is not unique to South Africa, however, South Africa continues to show a tenacious disregard for other development modes that embrace *in situ* upgrading. The State’s preference for the practice of relocation to formal greenfield projects means that spatial diversity has lost ground to spatial partition. The bulk of academic discussion implies that this model manifests in patterns expressing an “us” and “them” perception of different socio-economic groups. Urban spatial development, many would argue, has become too closely bound with image and perception; as has been shown, this holds true from the scale of investing in local real estate to that of hosting international mega-events.

The chapter’s spatial dialogue then juxtaposed the formal/informal model with discussions on the paradigms of informality as a form of urban development, subalternism and insurgency. While the underlying concepts of these three approaches differ they share the vision of spatial equity in an integrated city. They promote varying levels of *in situ* informal settlement upgrading and therefore imply a significantly different urban spatial pattern and level of socio-economic interaction than that of the formal/informal paradigm. The approach of informality as a form of urban development has evolved through the inclusion of residents in the development process. The concepts of subalternism and insurgency, on the other hand, are used in the argument that this is not enough. Subalternism, with its roots in the historical inequities of the poor, seeks to validate and empower the lower classes. Roy’s (2011) emerging voice on subalternism suggests that with a radical shift in focus from the lower classes’ legacy of invisibility to the current invisibility of

the practices of the urban poor, subalternism could be a powerful epistemological and, she argues, methodological tool in the arena of informality. However, as it stands, the subaltern model leans towards a top down approach attempting to ensure a level of equity to the lower classes which has long been denied them. Insurgency, on the other hand, is a forceful, bottom up approach. Although coined in the 1990s, insurgency as a practice has effectively occurred as long as people have been trying through various channels - individually and collectively - to demand their rights as urban citizens. It is, in essence, the 'autonomous housing system' that Turner (1976:29) described in Peru. It effectively lends informality the tonal character of a guerilla movement, while attempting to remain independent from hegemonic influences it defines its own terms in relation to efforts for *in situ* upgrading.

These approaches or models, whether at the theoretical, analytical or intervention stages have come to define informality and therefore contribute to our responses to it. As has been suggested, also contributing to the responses is the perception (based on agenda and/or bias) of the responders. This discussion has attempted to portray the complex and intertwining layers of informality, development models, socio-economic and political agendas and finally development interventions. The concepts drawn from this chapter and carried through the spatial dialogue of the study are: an acknowledging of the connection between the macro level trend of neoliberalism and the manipulation of perception through defamiliarisation as part of urban branding and therefore spatial planning; the need to understand and articulate the spatial domain of informal settlement through an understanding of the social processes of the informal residents; and the necessity of putting the residents at the centre of any intervention response. The next chapter will take these ideas into the context of South Africa's manifestation of informality in an effort to examine the corresponding urban spatial patterns.

chapter 03 UNDERSTANDING THE CHARACTER OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT AND OF UPGRADING EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

A casual look at urban informal settlement in South Africa is likely to elicit such sentiments as “bleak”, “dangerous” and “desperate”; understanding them as complex communities that provide sustained living environments requires delving deeper. What one finds when looking closer is that within each community and in its locale, livelihoods are scratched out and elaborate social networks are formed. Residents hang on to their sometimes tattered belief in the South Africa that Madiba (Nelson Mandela) described, in which they have a right to a place in the city. They wait for the government to fulfil its promises to provide housing. They fear that the municipality will send Red Ants, a security agency ‘described as state-sponsored mercenaries’ to demolish their homes or evict their neighbours (McDougal, 2010: no page number). Meanwhile, daily rhythms proceed. Residents wait for the city to install more water taps or they informally install their own. Illicit electric connections power bare bulbs, radios, TVs and computers. Residents go to work or look for work. Mobile phones are charged on car batteries or solar panels for a fee. Hair is cut under a tree or a tarp. Men push and pull handmade carts twice their height filled with recycled materials. People play community league football on fields of dust, using a ball or a can or a plastic bottle, with the occasional tournament being sponsored by local shops. Women wait for the price of paraffin to come down while eating less and sitting in the dark. They scramble in the coal dust making briquettes with mud. Women, children and a few young men stand in line for water, in groups they gossip about the latest news or squabble about their place in line. They scrub and iron their clothes and polish school shoes. Women form impromptu groups to help each other so that their children do not go hungry, but often they still do. Passing a *shebeen* there is the sound of music, laughter and shouting. There is the smell of cooking and open sewers. All the while residents form civil organisations and plot survival strategies while waiting to learn their community’s fate.

It is impossible to have a discussion on the complex socio-spatial manifestations of informality without also recognising the temporal element. Particularly in South

Africa, history has left a heavy footprint. Franz Fanon (1961/2004:4) describes the colonial South African city as a place where 'the "native" sector is not complementary to the European sector' but a place where, 'the two confront each other'. This confrontation has taken many forms over the past century. Post-apartheid South Africa's struggles with the socio-spatial legacy of apartheid are in line with Meinig's (1979:44) comment that 'Any historical view clearly implies a belief that the past has fundamental significance, one aspect of which is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked: the powerful fact that life must be lived amidst that which was made before'. However it is not history alone that has contributed to the current state of marginalised poor in South Africa. Harvey's (2005:2) statement that global trends mirror an 'emphatic turn toward neoliberalism' and Huchzermeyer's (2011) suggestion that this includes the direction that post-apartheid South Africa took under President Mbeki's economic policies, reflect macro level influences at the top level of the country's decision-making. The adoption of the neoliberal principles that Harvey (2005:3) describes as the 'deregulation, privatisation and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision' has strongly impacted the state's urban development policies; and, as the chapter will show its practices. Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006), among others, indicate that spatially South Africa is transitioning from racial apartheid to economic apartheid. Mazwi Nzimande, a resident of Kennedy Road informal settlement states that 'they say the apartheid era is over, yes we agree...but there is a new apartheid system that is operating in South Africa and that apartheid is between the rich and the poor' (Dear Mandela, 2011:no page number). This parallels Fanon's characterised confrontation, to which Desai and Pithouse (2004) and Bond (2006), among others, suggest that the "native" sector has been replaced by the poor sector. However, it should be acknowledged that while there is *de facto* evidence of continuing apartheid era spatial patterns, they are not driven by the menacing principles of the South African National Party's socio-racial control. Having said that, the current socio-economic confrontation between the State's desire for globally competitive cities to attract foreign investment, and the needs of the urban poor may prove equally damaging to those living in informal settlements. This raises the question, how are past and present development policies reflected in today's urban spatial form?

Through the use of academic literature review, anecdotal evidence, cultural artefact and empirical data, this chapter develops a narrative describing how urban informal development and South Africa's social and political histories have worked to define each other. The sections will examine how the thinking and practice at given times have aligned with the different development models that were discussed in the previous chapter. Clearly history does not fit neatly into these development categories. However, drawing these parallels begins to articulate trends in urban development. The first section will explore pairs of population groups and how they were spatially segregated. In line with this will be an examination of the impact of state and international policy trends. This will be followed by a section discussing informality as a response to urban influx *vis-à-vis* urban development, including the role of informality in the late apartheid era as negotiated by the pro-industry Urban Foundation. The apartheid/post-apartheid transition with the corresponding socio-economic changes provides a valuable window into the relationship between informality and passive citizenship, *status quo* housing and the housing backlog in post-apartheid South Africa. The final section will consider the bottom up approach of social movements as they act independently and use the civil system on their terms to access full rights to citizenship. Here, the previous chapter's discussion on insurgency and subalternism contributes to an examination of informal residents' defiant political agency.

section03.1 The formal/informal development model as a means to urban spatial control

South African cities are characterised by a legacy of partition resulting from racial segregation that began before apartheid with colonialism. This section again uses the formal/informal binary model to frame a discussion on urban space. The conversation begins with an exploration of how South Africa's urban spaces, with their varying manifestations of informal settlement, evolved predominantly under a binary model. While historically this socio-spatial partitioning has been largely racially based, I go on to look at why contemporary socio-economic segregation is an increasing trend. Given this study's case study context in South Africa, it is critical to show the spatial link between the binary character of past racially segregated urban development patterns and the manifestations of binary formal/informal urban development. This thread carries through to the second part of the section, which

documents and questions South Africa's informal settlement upgrading practices of eradication/relocation and formalisation. This commentary spatially portrays cityscapes in which urban sprawl, peripheralization and the social dis-empowerment of the poor are becoming further entrenched.

section 03.1.1 Socio-economic dichotomy as a corollary of spatial partition in the urban landscape

Spatial partitioning in the emerging urban landscapes of southern Africa predates the well publicised, draconian measures of apartheid. While Harrison (1992:15) explains that outbreaks of bubonic plague and influenza in the early 20th-century incited 'fear of disease emanating from the racially mixed slums and shantytowns [which] was used as an excuse to move blacks to the urban periphery'; Bond (1999) points to earlier state officiated spatial control going back to the Native Location Act of 1879, and with it an early system of pass laws. It could be suggested that this is an early example of the manipulative abuse of "slum" perception to maintain popular support for the state's spatial control. Both of these represent the beginning of state-sanctioned spatial partitioning, which became a means to control native Africans and to engineer the colonial agenda for

'The establishment of locations for Africans beyond the boundaries of white municipal areas by the local authority...The passing of legislation pertaining to Africans in urban areas [which] was an essential step towards establishing a systematic national policy of "native administration"...[on] how cities should be governed and housing provided' (Parnell and Hart, 1999:370, 371).

The legislation during this period was pivotal because it expressed the intent of the scope of racial control: not only to control the influx of blacks to the cities but jurisdictional land control of the country, 'It empowered local authorities to set aside land for blacks and provide formal housing within segregated areas, known as locations' (Harrison, 1992:15).

La Hausse (1987) comments that as the 20th-century industrialised, the colonial authorities viewed the black population as the proletariat and to this end wanted to limit the black population in cities to what was needed for their workforce. He goes on to explain that the presence of women was considered undesirable, which was reflected in the 1930s by the mere four per cent female presence in the African workforce (*ibid.*). On top of this, it was understood that single men could be housed less expensively in hostels limiting the need for family housing. In Durban these 'Institutions which sometimes housed fifteen workers to a room...earned Zulu names

such as Umhlaguva (“trees with thorns which bite”) or Umfugwana (“a tightly-packed snuff-tin”)’ (*ibid.*:5). Beyond economics this created a socio-spatial *milieu* of urban migrancy which was considered to the state’s advantage.

The ushering in of the apartheid era deepened these trends, and it came to represent nearly half a century of draconian racial control that was largely underpinned by spatial control. Stadler (1979), Christopher (1994) and Goldberg (1996) all suggest that this period was unique in its severity but not in its intent, arguing that the National Party’s adherence to the apartheid principles of racially *vis-à-vis* spatially segregated cities was an intensification of trends already in place from previous administrations. Goldberg (1996:13) sums this up, commenting that

‘Colonial influences, such as the native “reserves” and racially segregated urban areas introduced by the British, set in place the political, social and urban frameworks later systematised and codified by the aggressive white minority leadership...These Acts wrote into law that different race groups were to live in separate residential areas’.

Added to this, was the enforcement of a migratory labour system, Hendler (1999:14) points out that ‘people like Connie Mulder [South Africa’s Information Minister in John Vorster’s administration] were proclaiming a 100% migrant workforce as a national economic goal’. The spatial consequence of these National Party policies for the black population proved to be, designated homelands, peripheralised townships, and labour hostels. In his fictional prose, J. M. Coetzee (1998:82) eloquently portrays the ruthless societal phenomenon of forced segregation in a conversation between his itinerant character Michael K and a fellow inhabitant of a work camp:

‘What they would really like - this is my opinion - is for the camp to be miles away in the middle of the Koup out of sight. Then we could come on tiptoe in the middle of the night like fairies and do their work, dig their gardens, wash their pots, and be gone in the morning leaving everything nice and clean’.

Evans (1997) explains that in an effort to bring this about, F.E. Mentz was appointed by apartheid author Hendrik Verwoerd as Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission and given the task to design the spatial separation of blacks from whites, coloureds, and Indians *per* the Group Areas Act. The industrial sector insisted that this goal included the *proviso* that the black population represented South Africa’s proletariat (Bonner, 1990) and therefore workforce housing needed to be in reasonable proximity to the workplace (Evans, 1997). As a result, ‘During the period from 1958 to 1973 the state - unlike now - was central to the provision of rental accommodation in segregated dormitory townships...family housing spending was redirected to the

homelands' (Hendler, 1999:14). In effect this condensed the black working population to designated, peripheral housing and separated families; non-working members of the urban population were relocated to homelands away from the cities altogether, 'Prior to the 1990s, the black majority of the population were denied permanent residence or the ability to own land in the cities and were encouraged to live in undeveloped and overcrowded rural "homelands"' (Turok and Parnell, 2009:163). Informal communities in the urban areas of the Rand (Johannesburg's mining belt) were forcibly cleared, the consequence of such action elicited the statement from Hendler (1999:14) that 'Apartheid's major negative impact was the destruction of communities and social cohesion through...removals'. Goldberg (1996:6) characterises the National Party's actions as an 'era of evisceration... Vicious and saddening attempts were made to raze the settlements with bulldozers and expel people to the homelands'. In 1947, Oriel Monongoaha a leader in the 1940s squatter movements, created the lasting image of scattering birds in a cornfield, a metaphor of the relationship between the state and the African squatters: 'The Government was like a man who has a cornfield which is invaded by birds. He chases the birds...We the squatters are the birds' (Monongoaha, 1947 quoted by Stadler, 1979:93). Harrison (1992) explains the National Party's policies as a response to such urban conditions as those reported in a 1948 edition of *The Forum*, 'Tshwane is hemmed in on every side by squatter villages' (Harrison, 1992:15 quoting *The Forum*, 1948). This perceived relaxation of urban racial separation brought about two severe pieces legislation, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 (Harrison, 1992; Todes, 2006), which proved to have drastic socio-spatial repercussions on black urban population and on the cities of South Africa.

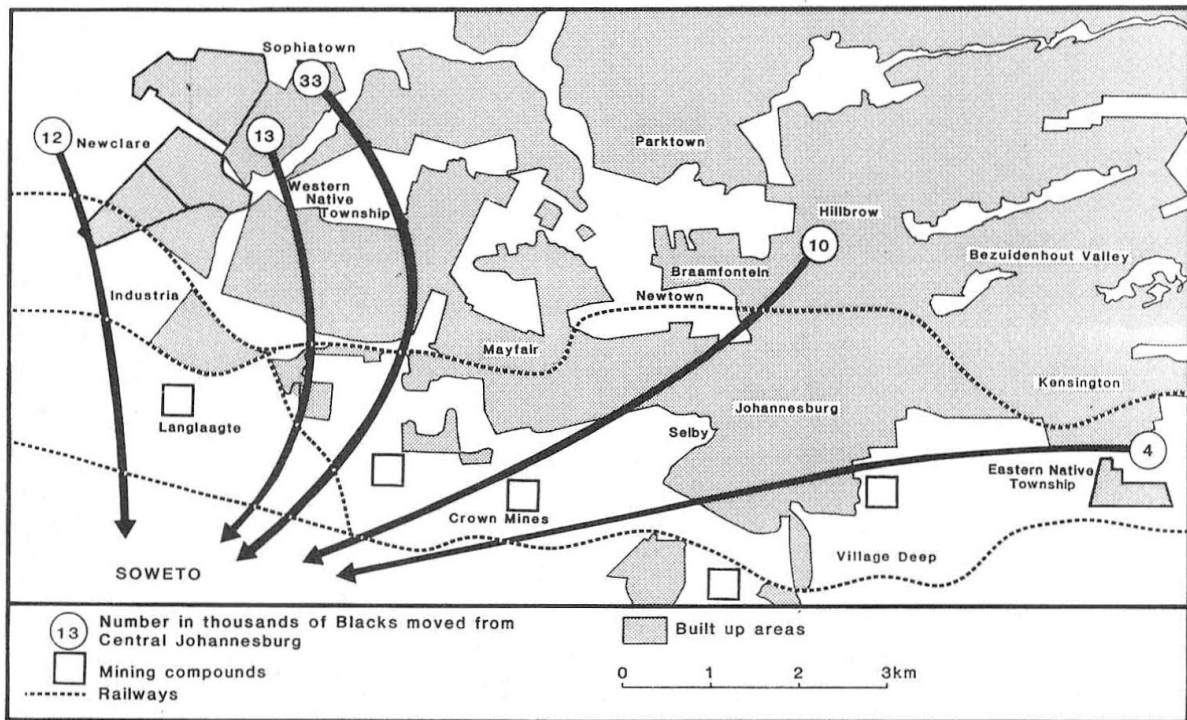


Figure 03.1: The segregation of the black population in Johannesburg (reproduced from Christopher, 1994:123).

Figure 03.1 illustrates the extent of the relocations from Johannesburg to the peripheralised black township Soweto. Similar events occurred in cities across South Africa, KwaMashu and Umlazi outside Durban and Gugulethu outside Cape Town. In Johannesburg Mentz chaired the Witwatersrand Native Areas Planning Committee, which was responsible for the relocation of tens-of-thousands of black residents (Evans, 1997). Figure 03.2 shows the design logic of an ideal apartheid city, a city in which the centre, the suburbs and the areas around major roadways are reserved for white residents; radiating outwards from this are areas classified for Indians and coloured; and finally the areas for the black proletariat class; in addition, these areas were separated by spatial buffers.

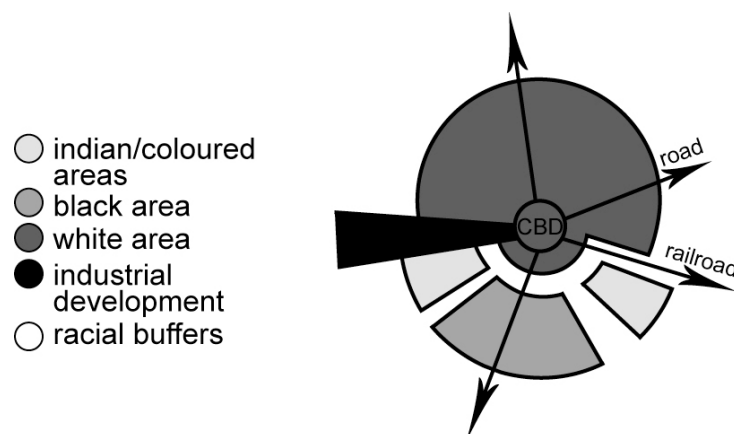


Figure 03.2: Model of an ideal apartheid city (reproduced from Goldberg, 1996).

The result of these policies and the consequential urban upheavals was that in the 1950s South Africa's urban informal settlements were all but successfully eradicated (Bonner, 1990). However, as Monongoaha (1947) predicted the 'birds' did return, informal settlement crept back into the cities. As the National Party lost spatial control during the period between the 1960s and the 1980s, the urban landscape effectively went through a twofold reversal. First, the State's ability to control areas cleared of black residents not just out of the cities but away to distant townships and homelands, began to erode; Harrison (1992:17) points out that 'Although the state officially pursued anti-urban policies, it was increasingly recognised that this approach was economically and politically dysfunctional'. And second, the early total eradication of informal settlements proved unsustainable. This represented a loss not only of socio-spatial control, but also of political power, clear spatial segregation had been seen as a representation of the National Party's iron-fisted control on the country (*ibid.*). Consequently, as the decades passed the state was forced to 'respon[d] to the evidence that these people had nowhere else to go [which] is significant as it eventually led to the reluctant acceptance of the presence of Africans (blacks) [and informality] in the city' (Huchzermeyer, 2004:99).

The unsustainability of the apartheid socio-spatial dogma and its negative impact on industry eventually led to the advent of the 1994 universal election, which politically ended segregational policies. However, the social and physical implications of that era have proved deep and far reaching. Hendler (1999:16) suggests that urban spatial segregation has remained largely unchanged, arguing that racial partition has been replaced by socio-economic partition:

'[a]lthough apartheid land use controls no longer exist the land market effectively bars most black South Africans from well positioned and prime residential locations...quality of life for the majority of low income house holds is still impeded by the peripheral location of housing'.

Christopher's (2005) paper based on the 2001 census showed slowing rates of citywide desegregation and increased numbers in peripheral informal settlements. All-white residential areas remain largely intact (*ibid.*). He suggests that without state sponsored integration policies this is likely to continue (*ibid.*).

Christopher (2005:2306) goes on to argue that this is largely the result of a policy shift in 1996 that, 'Effectively ended any attempt to implement far-reaching state-funded schemes to undo the *apartheid* city comparable in scale to the state enterprise which had been necessary for its creation'. This policy change was from the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which was 'concerned with issues of service delivery and improvement of personal living conditions' (*ibid.*: 2306); to the free-market driven Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy which, while showing some success at the macro-economic level has done little for development at the micro-economic or spatial integration level (Bond, 2003; Goebel, 2007). Todes (2006) suggests that this shift reflected an interest in emphasising local level, market-led urban development practices, which became the basis of the 1995 Urban Development Strategy (UDS). The UDS was generated by the Development Bank of South Africa and drew heavily from international planning theory on polycentric urban development, in other words the development of cities with multiple social, financial and political centres (*ibid.*). Todes (2006:56) comments that it 'broadly endorsed the compaction-integration model [but then] moved away from it' with the inclusion of the World Bank's early 1990s report that strongly suggested that development should be continued around the black townships. The result was a focus on 'establish[ing] financially sustainable and effective local government, capable of service delivery' (*ibid.*:57); which, significantly, shifted the goal from spatial development to political development (Pieterse, 2006 cited in Todes, 2006). This trend falls into what Turok and Parnell (2009:163) describe as an apartheid era holdover, an ongoing fundamental flaw in the mechanism of South Africa's spatial production accelerated by 'Separate, self-financed local authorities [who are] responsible for the different parts of each city, perpetuating a highly fragmented and unequal system of public infrastructure and community facilities'.

Paralleling these macro level politico-economic dynamics are the micro level socio-economic influences of aesthetic and perception evident in post-apartheid South Africa. Ballard (2004) argues that there is increasing pressure from the urban middle and upper classes to protect their real estate equity and personal safety. During the era of racial segregation the edges of white neighbourhoods had been spatially protected by state mandated buffer zones. Ballard (2004) argues that today all racial

groups object to informal development near their residential areas, 'Informal settlements impact on more than the bank balance: they impact on residents' sense of place and therefore on their self-perception as western, modern, civilised people. This analysis could equally be extended to Indian and black middle classes' (*ibid.*: 49). This earlier quote in *Business Day* from the era of transition graphically describes the resentment by the middle class to the existence of informal settlement in their midst:

'Young married men from 500-odd homes loaded the guns they kept hidden in their sock and handkerchief drawers...They took leave from work, mounted a control centre, hired a batch of two-way radios and are keeping an eagle eye on the 44 ha open patch earmarked for Zevenfontein's squatters - land that is only metres away from their pristine new houses' (1992 quoted in Ballard, 2004:48).

Ballard (2004) goes on to state that while this illustration is pre-1994 election the same sentiment continues to exist across all racial groups in middle class areas of the city.

This section drew on the discussion of the formal/informal development model in Chapter 02 to describe its iron fisted implementation during the apartheid era and its legacy in post apartheid cityscapes. What comes to light is the problematic and unsustainable nature of this model when formal and informal are approached as a dichotomy. What also becomes evident is that this is an emotionally charged issue not only for the poor, but also for the middle and elite classes. Drawing from the discussions in Chapter 02, this reflects that urban dwellers' identities are closely tied to the image of the landscapes in which they live. Again we see that perception, aesthetic and defamiliarisation are going to have to be addressed if development is going to occur without partitions between the informal "darkness" of eviction, destruction and death' and the formal "lightness" of legality, safety and full membership' (Yiftachel, 2009b:247).

section 03.1.2 State-sanctioned relocation and spatial formalisation as an approach to "upgrading"

The previous section examined the use of the formal/informal model as an urban development strategy; this section looks at how that impacts the policies and *de facto* realities for informal settlement upgrading. The discussion briefly touches on the apartheid era but the emphasis is post-1994.

Stadler (1979) points out that housing was a significant element in the National Party's platform and that the state's aggression towards informal settlement drastically changed after the 1948 elections. In the early years of apartheid there was no policy of upgrading, only eradication. The most famous example of this is Sophiatown, a mixed race neighbourhood of Johannesburg. The Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 made it illegal for different races to live together, and consequently in 1955 several thousand armed police forcibly moved the black residents to Meadowlands (Soweto region). Still today the legendary voice of Miriam Makeba regales residents' attachment to the lost community in the song *Sophiatown is Gone*, telling the residents' story of their powerful connection to place and the depth of the loss they felt in the placelessness of Meadowlands (Figure 03.3). Similarly, the words of Don Mattera's (2007:5) poem, *The Day They Came For Our House*, evoke such sentiments:

'Armed with bulldozers
they came
to do a job
nothing more
just hired killers.

We gave way
there was nothing we could do
although the bitterness stung in us
and in the earth around us...

Bulldozers have power.
They can take apart in a few minutes
all that had been built up over the years
and raised over generations
and generations of children'.

The academic writing of Hart and Pirie (1984:45) communicates the loss of place and the feelings of identity associated with the relocation of Sophiatown to Meadowlands in the statement, 'The regimented locations with their bland generic label conveyed a sense of placelessness and unbelonging that helped emphasise the peculiar embrace of Sophiatown'.



Figure 03.3: Meadowlands (reproduced from Bettmann, 1954).

These culturally based and academic descriptions combine to articulate the residents' profound attachment to Sophiatown not just as a location but as a source of social fulfilment. This example of community bound social capital reinforces the findings of Schlyter (1981), Spiegel (1999) and Robins (2002) that were discussed in the previous chapter. It underlines Schlyter's (1981) characterisation of the problematic nature of relocating communities to areas perceived by residents' to have more spatial order and improved housing superstructure.

In recent years the term eradication has crept back into the state's vocabulary, like the term "slum" it has pejorative connections to the past. Whether during the apartheid or post-apartheid eras the binary nature of the formal/informal model dictates the elimination of one (informal) to achieve the other (formal). The approaches to informal settlement upgrading that go hand-in-hand with the binary formal/informal development model are eradication and formalisation. Huchzermeyer (2011) articulates these two approaches in the context of contemporary South Africa (Table 03.1). She points out that while the UN MDG Seven Target 11 communicates 'participatory "slum" upgrading as best practice and advises against "slum" eradication' a majority of cities are using its slogan "Cities Without Slums" as a mandate for "slum" clearing. Similarly Pithouse (2012:16) states the problematic character of formalisation, as it 'decisively shifts power into the hands of the state' foreshadowing the end of community mobilisation and therefore eroding the urban poor's political agency.

Table 03.1: Post apartheid South Africa's predominant approaches to upgrading (reproduced from Huchzermeyer, 2011:199).

Interpretation of 'informal settlement upgrading'	Also referred to as...	Proponents of this interpretation
Clearance, replacement with formal housing is not necessarily targeted at the original informal residents.	Eradication	• N2 Gateway Project • Housing Development Agency in its early engagements in upgrading debates
Clearance and replacement with formal, fully subsidised housing in a standardised layout at a lower density and made available to a portion of the original residents. In some instances possible through removal of some households and shifting the shacks of others.	Formalisation	• Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing • Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality's Upgrading for Growth programme • City of Johannesburg's 'formalisation' programme

The transitional era of the early and mid-1990s lacked the political will to carry out informal settlement evictions and relocations. However, as Christopher (2005) points out, by the late 1990s informal settlements that disrupted official planning projects were, as in previous decades, cleared. Zevenfontein, an informal settlement established in the 1980s, is a well documented example of this; alternative land uses were put in place and as a result "upgrading" occurred using the approaches defined above as eradication and formalisation (Table 03.1). Relocations began in the mid-1990s but it took more than 10 years to clear the settlement. By 2007 there was nothing left of the community (Figure 03.4). Documented residents had been relocated to the older state-subsidised housing project Diepsloot and the new state-subsidised project Cosmo City. Those who were not on the original list of residents and immigrants were forcibly evicted and left to find their own informal housing solutions (the only option left to them) in Diepsloot (Scheepers, personal communication, 16 October 2007).



Figure 03.4: Zevenfontein 2007 after clearing (photos by author).

The apartheid era township of Diepsloot contains formal housing, backyard shacks and informal development, effectively blurring the formal/informal development model. In an effort to prevent this in the new Cosmo City project the practice of backyard trade and shack rental has been banned (Shneeman, personal communication, 16 Nov. 2007). This is despite the ongoing argument (Dewar and Watson, 1991; Huchzermeyer, 2006:6) that 'preventing the use of corrugated iron or so-called "zincs" for backyard letting or informal trade stalls means cutting off a lifeline' for the owners, landlords and traders.

According to van Horen (2000) the problematic nature of eradication/formalisation approach is not only evident in the realities on the ground, but also with the technocratic strategies. He suggests that, 'a reliance on conventional tools, such as master planning, means that the dominant approach is to attempt to formalise the informal' (*ibid.*:389). This concurs with what I was told at Ekurhuleni (part of greater Johannesburg) Housing Department: upgrading implies the implementation of existing statutory law and 'township design' including housing codes, setbacks, legal roads, etc (personal communication, Williamson, 26 Feb. 2008). Macgregor (2008:no page number) points out that this approach often does not take into consideration such ideas as; 'livelihoods incorporated into planning, inclusion of most the vulnerable, safety of children, no relocations, or community participation and management'.

However, having built this discussion around the often troubling nature of the formalisation/eradication paradigm, it is important not to dismiss the testimony, in the literature and personal communications, of informal residents' expectations for a "normal" house on a grid (Schlyter, 1981; personal communication, Siphethu, 3 March 2008; personal communication, Mjungula, 10 May 2008). Previous discussions have brought to light the frequent dissonance between urban residents' (poor, middle class and elite) expectations, aesthetic perceptions, and socio-spatial realities. These residents' desire for spatial order often comes with a misconceived sense of social order.

This section has shown that urban spatial separation as a manifestation of racial prejudice began under colonial rule at the turn of the 20th century and peaked during the National Party's apartheid era. The scope of socio-spatial control during the fifty year apartheid period was unprecedented as it shifted vast black populations and tried to mandate migratory labour environments. Initially in the 1950s apartheid policy and practice succeeded in stamping out urban informal settlement, however this became unsustainable and informality crept back into South Africa's cities. It has been shown that, both during and after apartheid, upgrading under the formal/informal binary model translates to the formalisation/eradication of informally developed communities. Examples of this practice of relocation highlighted the sense of place that exists in these socially rich communities, and the profound feeling of loss of identity that goes hand in hand with their destruction. The timeline of these examples reflects a transition from racial and politico-economic to socio-economic rationales to justify this approach. Interestingly, the following section will show that while the underlying motivation and the development model have changed, the approach of relocation has become tenaciously entrenched in South Africa's urban development practices.

section 03.2 The evolution of informality as an urban spatial form through need, technocratic intervention and participatory practices

The demographic of South Africa has gone from a majority rural population to a majority urban population in the last 100 years (Nel, 2011). Shack building and informal settlement as a mode of urban development dates back to the scarcity of housing for the ex-slaves in the mid-1800s. Subsequent periods of rapid urbanisation catalysed increases in urban informal development. During those periods informal settlement has taken on the role of housing for those people who could not find a place in cities' available housing stock. Miraftab (2002), among others, suggest that in contemporary South Africa informal settlements have become synonymous with *status quo* housing. Residents, believing in something better to come, acquiesce to passive citizenship; in other words, they accept the invisibility of traditional subalternism, what Bayat (2000) eluded to as 'quiet encroachment' in the previous chapter. Informality in this role, partnered with the housing backlog has served the post-apartheid state well. However, as the second half of the section will show, this is only part of the story. Upgrading as an evolutionary approach has not led to

successful practices. Further, as the end of this section and Chapters 07 and 08 will show, the waiting associated with expectation has led to impatience, protest and increased political agency by some communities.

section 03.2.1 The spatial consequence of tolerance: when informal development serves both the residents and the state

This section describes the relationship between the state and informal settlement with an emphasis on the post-apartheid era. After a brief history of colonial shantytowns, parallels are drawn between the shifts in housing policy and apartheid, the transition and into post-apartheid periods. This review reflects that tolerance, as much as policy implementation, proves to have a significant impact on the viability of informal communities. The issues of international development norms and economic trends from Chapter 02 are drawn into this section to show the macro/micro level relationships and its influence on local practices.

Three major events drove significant periods of urban influx during South Africa's history before apartheid: the emancipation of the slaves in 1834; industrialisation in the early 20th century; and in mid-century, World War II. Goldberg (1996:7) reflects that 'The country's informal settlements are rooted in colonial manipulation in general and turn of the century industrialisation in particular'. Changes in the legal status of native Africans under colonialism led to shifts in living habits and as a result spatial needs. The earliest examples of this came with the freed slaves who were drawn to the cities in large numbers motivated by the need to find work. Harrison (1992) suggests that this explains the early informal development around Cape Town. The lack of low-income, black housing required that the poor build their own dwellings on land that they found available; the result was pockets of informal settlement in the city but the majority of organic development occurred on the periphery where land was plentiful (*ibid.*).

In 1886 the gold reefs were discovered in the veld that has become modern Johannesburg. This explains Goldberg's (1996:5) reference to the city's spatial roots as 'ville spontanee...free of the influence and impositions of designers, planners or other authorities'. In the subsequent decades, foreign exploitation of South Africa's mineral wealth began in earnest. This led to patterns of informal development around

mining camps, as Harrison points out, (1992:15) 'Both Kimberley and Johannesburg developed initially as shantytowns'. Bonner (1990) suggests that the spatial distribution of informal settlement at the turn of the century was not chance but followed the mining operations along the Rand (Johannesburg's mining belt). Harrison (1992:7) characterises the manifestation of informal housing at that time, stating that 'the majority of the 80,000 blacks resident in the city...remained within overcrowded compounds, backyard shacks and pockets of informal settlement'.

Goldberg (1996) links the combination of crop failures and the institution of taxes in the beginning of the 20th century to urban migration toward burgeoning industrial centres. Bonner (1990:89) explains that in Johannesburg much of this influx was absorbed by 'the post-World War I government institut[ion of] a new form of land tenure, in the shape of small-holdings around the main town of the Rand, to provide a kind of pension for ex-miners and other members of the white working class'. However, instead of white residential retirement communities, these areas rapidly became black informal settlements. He goes on to describe 'Tens of thousands of black workers, and eventually hundreds of thousands, found homes in these areas, living in small clusters of shacks on innumerable plots' (*ibid.*:90). Still today, unoccupied land around the Rand is considered a desirable location for informal settlement.

Both Stadler (1979) and Harrison (1992) describe urban population surges in the 1940s galvanised by the industrial boom around World War II. Between 1936 and 1946, the black population of Johannesburg nearly doubled to just under half a million. This influx stands out because of its major demographic change, the migration of entire families rather than just work-seeking men. Bonner (1990) suggests that the number of women in the greater-Johannesburg area increased as much as 150% in some communities. This meant a change in demand for housing. The predominantly male hostel housing was no longer adequate. However, because resources were stretched by the war effort very little formal housing development occurred, instead predominately black, unregulated informal development proliferation (Figure 03.5).

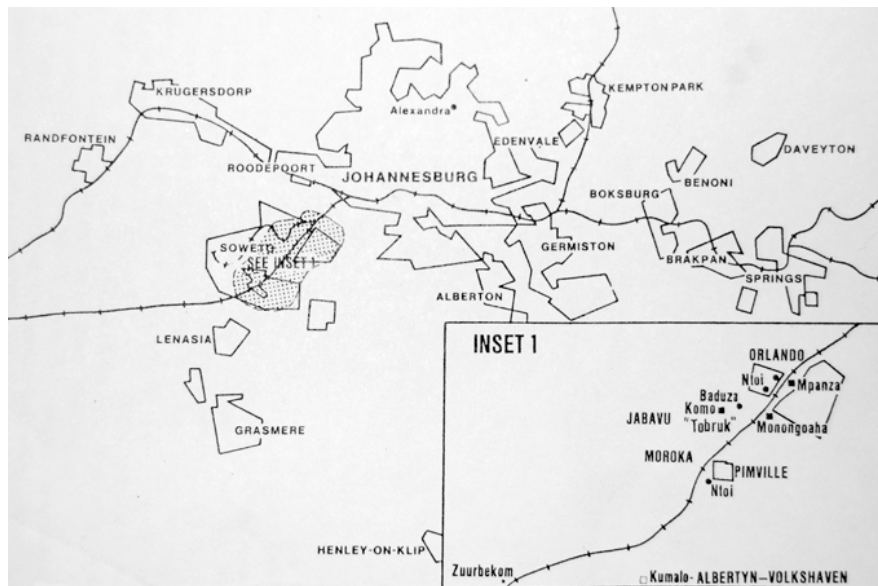


Figure 03.5: Informal settlements in the Johannesburg area in the 1940s (reproduced from Stadler, 1979:96).

The previous section mentioned the clearing of Sophiatown, the neighbourhood it is worth noting in more detail because of its mixed race and socio-economic character. Desirably located about four miles west of central Johannesburg, in 1903 the 237 acre site was developed as a largely white working class neighbourhood. By the 1920s the area had become less desirable, and other racial groups (black, coloured, Indian, and Chinese) took over from the white residents. The State's mid-1930s inner city slum clearing further contributed to growth. By the end of the 1940s, the population was estimated at 54,000. Sophiatown had become a vibrant, racially mixed community housed in freestanding dwellings, backyard subtenancy, and informal shacks (Figure 03.6). Hart and Pirie's (1984) description gives it a human face:

'The paradox of Sophiatown was the emotional plenty among the material shortage. This point does not mean that the squalor of a decrepit, unsanitary, unsightly area should be romanticised. On the other hand, the virtue in diversity and disorder, qualities emphasised by the literary interpreters of the Sophiatown experience, should not be disregarded'.



Figure 03.6: Sophiatown (reproduced from Bettmann, 1954).

The proliferation of written word, music, dance and art attributed to residents of Sophiatown communicates its vibrancy, its richness of place. However, as was discussed earlier, the socio-spatial complexity of this community was forcibly erased in the 1950s.

The National Party's draconian measures in the 1950s and 1960s served to increase the business sector's role in housing and urban planning. Bonner (1990) and Hendler (1999:14) contend that South African industry shouldered a high cost for extreme policies that impacted the black workforce:

'The displaced urbanization of apartheid - particularly during the 1970s - resulted in long traveling hours to and from work. This had a negative impact on individual quality of life and labour productivity...The result was proliferating squatter settlements, many of which lacked basic amenities'.

The proliferation of informal settlements in subsequent decades reflects the State's inability to sustain these policies and the party's eroding racially based spatial control.

Earlier discussions on apartheid urban partitioning revolved around its socio-spatial consequences, here we look at how politico-economics in the industrial complex became a catalyst for "positive" urban spatial change. Hendler (1999) suggests an atmosphere of flagging government finances and a lack of popular support for low-income housing projects in the mid- to late-1970s. This, he argues, coupled with an acknowledgement that housing was a soft target for the anti-apartheid movement brought some moderation in attitude toward informal settlement (*ibid.*). However, Todes (2006) contends that the correlation between housing and labour efficiency

also played a crucial role and paved the way for the creation of the Urban Foundation (UF) in 1976. The UF was a think-tank backed by leaders of industry and commerce aimed primarily at addressing South African urban housing issues, but secondarily at influencing apartheid policy to bolster its own industrial agenda. Given this, it is not surprising that the UF led South African housing development toward the World Bank's development model of self-help housing. However, at that time South Africa was unable to access monetary development benefits from the World Bank because of its racial policies. Despite this, as Huchzermeyer (2004) points out, the Urban Foundation influenced the state to voluntarily adopt many of the principles of the World Bank site-and-service housing model. However, this aspect of volunteerism allowed "pick and choose" policy adherence, the upshot was an adoption of the site-and-service policy but a disregard for the linked policy of settlement upgrading (*ibid.*). Marx (2003) suggests that this is significant because it put in place policy and practice trends that replace informal development with formal development, without any effort to embrace *in situ* upgrading.

Further, Smit (1992) explains that the Urban Foundation sold the state on the idea of capital subsidy and the privatisation of low-income housing, arguing that it would expedite the rollout of housing projects. This led to what is considered one of UF's major achievements in policy change, the introduction of the 99-year lease for Africans. Huchzermeyer (2001:72) points to UF's agenda with her statement that 'freehold tenure for Africans in urban areas, [was] a means of stabilising the workforce and improving economic prospects'. If put side by side with the empirically based discussion in the previous chapter on the correlation between traditional forms of tenure and innovations in spatial layout and building typology, the UF's suggestions did not bode well for the success of housing projects. However, it did improve blacks' access to the city. Boaden (1990) also questions UF's intent, arguing that conventional financing leads to conventional building and development practices. In reality, these new policies led to a period of limited and tightly controlled site-and-service development and "upgrading" in South African cities.

Saff (1996) describes that, until the 1986 repeal of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, Johannesburg's re-emerging informal settlement had largely consisted of backyard

shacks. The removal of this legislation, which had controlled the movement of Africans between urban and rural areas since 1923, triggered an intensive period of urbanisation. In response, the Orderly Urbanisation policy was put in place 'to manage urban growth by channeling it into large sites-and-services areas situated both on urban fringes and near existing black townships' (Saff, 1996:236). In effect, the spatial consequence of this was a continuation of the same fragmented urban patterns at much less expense to the government's flagging coffers.

It was at this point that Johannesburg saw the re-emergence of large, freestanding informal settlements. Hendler (1999:14) chronicles this period, 'As the pass laws and other apartheid controls were resisted and whittled away...more and more people streamed into metropolitan areas in search of work and a better life, placing more strain on run down infrastructure and limited housing stock'. Large scale, well-located informal settlements like Zevenfontein are typical from the major influx in the mid-1980s (Kornienko, 2006). Hill and van Heerden (2003:18) explain that following the land invasion, residents built makeshift dwellings with whatever materials were at hand, 'cardboard, softboard, plastic and even hardboard make the most impractical exterior walls, and generally people use them only as temporary materials for the preliminary structure, to be replaced later with corrugated metal'. Timber pole and zinc (corrugated metal) are the preferred and most widely used building materials in the Gauteng region. Figure 03.7.a illustrates how structures are often painted and personalised. Figure 03.7.b shows an example of a dwellings consolidated with found or purchased brick. This incremental development reflects the State's tolerance of informality during this period.



Figure 03.7: Zevenfontein 2005 a) showing a creche, b) a consolidated dwelling and c) communal gathering area (photo by author).

The 1994 election represented the first free and fair popular vote that included all the racial groups. Niq Mhlongo, a literary voice from South Africa's Kwaito generation, captures the essence of this period as his narrative follows the lives of three young Sowetans and their first opportunity to vote. While sitting on the side of the road next to a broken down taxi, Dingz considers the socio-spatial changes taking place in Johannesburg:

'The previous week when I passed by...the place was just open ground, but since then the shanty houses had mushroomed. They covered almost the whole area through what they call "affirmative occupation". Everything is "affirmative" nowadays...slums or squatter camps have become "affirmative settlements". Shop lifting is called "affirmative transaction"...Even going out with a white person is "affirmative romance"' (Mhlongo, 2004:79).

This image from the street reflects the era's atmosphere of promise, hope and expectation that major policy *vis-à-vis* socio-spatial changes would occur. Turok and Parnell (2009) point out that, like the National Party in the previous era, integral to the African National Congress's (ANC) election *Manifesto* was urban low-income housing. This implied the ANC's intent to address the spatial and social needs of informal settlement residents. Among other things it promised that, 'Housing plans will take into account the need for people to stay close to where they work and the need to build efficient transportation systems' (ANC, 1994b:no page number). Significantly, the ANC's Manifesto identified The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) as the framework for bringing about these changes. The RDP was a comprehensive model to guide future policy decisions, regarding housing the poor it

'[sought] to mobilize all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future...The RDP endorses the principle that all South Africans have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity. Housing is a human right. One of the RDP's first priorities is to provide for the homeless' (ANC, 1994a:1.1.1, 2.5.4).

After the election the National Housing Forum also declared housing as a human right and South Africa began building houses, which to date number over 2 million (DOH, 2007). However, this story does not have a happy ending. Bond (2003:51) suggests that the 1996 ideological shift, from a notion that 'urban goods and services [are] entitlements, and hence where these cannot be afforded by the poor households, it argues for state subsidy'; to 'full cost recovery, and where this is not possible, advocates much lower service levels' reflects a change in the State's goals. This change, from state subsidised entitlements versus lower service levels to meet cost recovery effectively brought South Africa's urban development policies in line with global development norms and the economic principles of neoliberalism.

Huchzermeyer (2011) comments that this change reflects the weight of neoliberal thinking from Thabo Mbeki, who heavily influenced economic policy from early on. It also indicates the continued influence of the industrial sector (Marais, 2011). Pithouse (2009a:1) points out that on the ground it resulted in 'houses...built to scale...too small, often of very poor quality and most often built in peripheral ghettos that have entrenched the spatial logic of apartheid'. He goes on to articulate "ghetto" as part of an institutional system of spatial control (*ibid.*). This post-apartheid practice is hauntingly similar to its apartheid predecessor.

However, Bond (2003) argues that the most impactful policy of this period came in 1998 with the enactment of the Local Government White Paper (LGWP) (Bond, 2003 quoting Republic of South Africa, 1998). He states that, 'most striking about the LGWP, is its apparent agenda of civil society *demobilization*...[the]1980s struggles are reduced to those questioning the legitimacy of the apartheid political structures (not township socio-economic conditions)' (Bond, 2003:44). In other words, civic development became a laundry list of technocratically "solvable" problems; and to this end, the document 'appeal[s] to citizens to trust a largely technocratic process' (*ibid.*:46). Effectively this meant: the development of a local government power base; symptomatic service provision; and participatory development. In practice, as will be seen in later chapters, decentralising civic development limits grassroots struggles to formal channels; in South Africa these are the Ward Councillors, through whom residents or community leaders are able to make claims or demand participation. Further, decentralising means reliance on local capacity to engage with community's demands; and Goebel (2007) points out that capacity at the local level that is proving a slow problem to resolve in South Africa. Additionally, the development process becomes limited by the LGWP's suggested symptomatic response to service needs. Bond (2003) gives the example of the widely provided pit latrines that cannot be incrementally upgraded to water-borne sanitation. He argues that this level of response effectively relegates informal settlements to ghettos, which he suggests, on the one hand 'generates a neo-apartheid urban form', and on the other leaves demolition and formalisation as the most politically palatable option (*ibid.*:45). Huchzermeyer (2005:213) echoes this, pointing out that 'the main apartheid legislation was repealed in 1991 but since then, South African housing policy—

especially its subsidy program for developers—has reinforced existing patterns of segregation’. Similar to Bond (2003), she infers that ‘the poor location of these capital subsidy developments perpetuate the segregated spatial structure...the peripheralisation of low-income housing fosters segregation and in turn, poverty’ (Huchzermeyer, 2005:214-215).

In the same vein, the LGWP’s service provision rhetoric of ‘payment in proportion to the amount consumed’ and ‘full payment of service costs’ contradicts the earlier RDP principles of block tariffs, service lifelines and redistribution from businesses to residents (Bond, 2003:46 quoting RSA, 1998). Again this inhibits the potential evolutionary character of informal development because the residents are unable to use the services if they are required to pay full cost. If we return to the model of informality as an element of the evolutionary process of urban development, as was discussed in the previous chapter, it becomes apparent that the practices suggested in the LGWP become insurmountable obstacles in the evolution from land invasion to a socio-economically viable neighbourhood. In fact, Cox (2001) and later Mirafitab (2009:34) argue that demobilising civil society through manipulation of need and service provision helps to maintain a *status quo* in urban development.

Hope for the evolutionary development of informal residents was rekindled in 2004 with the publication of “Breaking New Ground” (BNG) (Department of Housing, 2004c). Following the socio-economic and spatial rights ruling by the Constitutional Court in the Grootboom case, which will be discussed further in the following section, and much debate resulting from the Ten Year Review (Charlton and Kihato, 2006) the Housing Code was brought back in line with South Africa’s Bill of Rights and the 1994 socio-economic ideals. The approved legislation included the addition of Chapter 12, Housing Assistance in Emergency Housing Circumstances; and Chapter 13, Upgrading of Informal Settlements to the Housing Code, which were reframed in 2009 as Volume 4 Part 3 of The National Housing Code (DHS, 2009a; DHS, 2009b). Both Pithouse (2009a) and Huchzermeyer (2011) assert that this was a major step because it moved away from the capital subsidy system, which, as Huchzermeyer (2011) points out, makes it more inclusive to poor households. Additionally, many of the objectives reflect a progressive move toward an evolutionary development

model, such as: ‘informal settlements should also not be viewed as merely a “housing problem”, requiring a “housing solution” but rather as a manifestation of structural social change...’ (DOH, 2004b:4) and ‘a paradigm shift is necessary to refocus existing policy responses towards informal settlements from one of conflict or neglect, to one of integration and co-operation’ (DOH, 2004b). Further weight was given to this policy direction with President Mbeki’s declaration of the People’s Contract, which emphasises “the eradication of poverty and under-development” (DOH, 2004b:3). Taken as a body of legislation, this showed the intent for major policy change in support of informal settlements (Table 03.2).

Table 03.2: A summary of South Africa’s 2004 progressive housing policies.

Breaking New Ground	• ‘Accelerating the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation • Utilising the provision of housing as a major job delivery strategy • Ensuring property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment • Leveraging growth in the economy • Combating crime, promoting social cohesion, and improving quality of life for the poor • Supporting the functionality of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking down barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy property slump • Utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring’ (DOH, 2004c:7)
Chapter 12 Housing Assistance in Emergency Housing Circumstances	• ‘Permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy, and providing adequate protection against the elements, and • Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply’ (DOH, 2004a:4)
Chapter 13 Upgrading of Informal Settlements	• ‘Tenure security...aims to enhance the concept of citizenship, incorporating both rights and obligations, by recognising and formalising the tenure rights of residents within informal settlements wherever feasible... • Health and Safety...promotes the development of healthy and secure living environments... • Empowerment...addresses social and economic inclusion by focusing on community empowerment and the promotion of social and economic integration’ (DOH, 2004:5)

However, while Breaking New Ground was adopted into legislation, which for the first time made *in situ* upgrading a viable option alongside formalisation, it has not been embraced at the provincial or municipal levels, perhaps signalling a lack of political will. Pithouse (2009a:2) states that ‘for some years key figures in the national political elite have promoted an anti-poor discourse about “clearing” or “eradicating”

“slums”, which suggests a further cause of its political failure given that Breaking New Ground had become the competing discourse to slum eradication. Huchzermeyer (2011) adds that a conservative turn at the core of the ANC and in particular the orientation of the 2004-2009 Housing Minister Lindiwe Sisulu were also contributing factors. She further asserts that under the auspice of Target 11 of the MDGs there has been a shift in focus from qualitative reduction of poverty and underdevelopment to quantitative eradication of informal settlements (*ibid.*).

Pithouse (2009a:1) argues that this political leaning has contributed to municipalities ‘routinely act[ing] towards the poor in ways that are unlawful and, in strict legal terms, criminal’. This unlawful action includes illegal evictions, demolitions, forced removals, the use of the Red Ants militant organisation, arrests under false accusations, and oppression of grassroots social movements (COHRE, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2008; Kuny and Moyo, 2008; Pithouse, 2009; McDougal, 2010; Riz Khan, 2010). At the municipal, provincial and national levels, South Africa manipulates the aesthetic perception of its cities in the interest of competition for mega-events, global conferences or international investors; which often includes “slum” clearing (McDougal, 2010). This aggressive trend toward informal settlement combined with the state and international community’s expectations of a positive global image in the run up to the South African FIFA World Cup set the stage for legislation such as the KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act (Zikode, 2010b from the organic discourse; Huchzermeyer, 2011). Dara Kell, after working in eThekweni (Durban) describes ‘entire shack communities disappear...to hide them from view and present a picture of...world class cities’ (Riz Khan, 2010: no page number). In the same conversation Zikode, the president of the social movement that took the KwaZulu-Natal Slums Act to the Constitutional Court, explains that this legislation not only opened the door for informal settlement clearing, it echoed the apartheid era logic of urban spatial control, ‘more power was given to the municipalities and landowners to carry out these evictions without the legislative guides of the law, which undermined the constitution’ (*ibid.*). In addition to this, it severely limited informal residents’ abilities to maintain or improve their dwellings. In response the Executive Director of the Geneva-based NGO Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) wrote to the KwaZulu-Natal Premier:

‘By passing the Bill, the Provincial Legislature of KwaZulu-Natal has instantly reduced the tenure security of millions of South Africans by making it mandatory for land owners and municipalities to instigate eviction procedures wherever people are unlawfully occupying land or buildings. We wish to remind you that this was one of the objectives of the Apartheid State’s *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951*’ (COHRE, 2007:2).

This apparent conflict of ideologies between the RDP framework laid out in 1994 and the neoliberal-based practices that have since evolved has led to what du Plessis (2008) describes as political schizophrenia. He goes on to describe two damaging consequences to informal settlement residents. First, an increase in the perception of physical vulnerability due to the threat of eviction and relocation; and second, the potential for social and physical disintegration in communities. The numbers from Statistics South Africa reflect the severity of the housing shortage, nationally informal dwelling is hovering around 13%, in the economic powerhouse province of Gauteng the number jumps up to 21.5% (Statistics South Africa, 2011a:21). Table 03.3 outlines the extent of the current housing backlog in South Africa. Given the size of the populace involved and wait times, the implications of this cannot be ignored, housing the poor represents a significant socio-spatial dilemma. In a recent budget address, Human Settlements Minister Tokyo Sexwale (2010:no page number) stated that ‘the [RDP] housing backlog has grown in leaps and bounds from 1.5-million in 1994 and that it now stands at approximately 2.1-million. That means that approximately 12-million South Africans are still in need of better shelter’. He goes on to say, ‘as a reflection of the increased demand, the number of informal settlements has ballooned’ (*ibid.*:no page number): significantly this is an acknowledgment that there is no other housing choice for millions of South Africans.

Table 03.3: Average wait periods of household members for state-subsidised housing benefit (Statistics SA, 2011b:8)

Average time household members have been on the RDP housing wait list	South African	Gauteng (the province where this study takes place)
0-3 years	48.3%	29.6%
4-6 years	18.9%	17.9%
7-9 years	17.5%	21.7%
more than 9 years	15.3%	30.8%

Two further considerations drawn from the data in this table are worth noting. The first is the temporal aspect of spatial development. Given that 15.3% of household

members nationwide and 30.8% in Gauteng have been waiting 9 years or more for what they believe is their entitlement from the government, the question must be raised how this is influencing the development of informal space and place. In Chapter 8, the study's research findings are used to examine the relationships between expectation, waiting and physical consolidation. The second is why, given the innovative policies in place, there has not been further embrace of the *in situ* upgrading approach. It is worth linking this back to the discussion in the previous chapter on the complex relationship between informality, the state, NGOs and social movements. There it was suggested that when stakeholders' needs become entangled with economic trends (both local and global) it results in informality becoming a *status quo* housing solution (Miraftab, 2009). Is there a stabilising of society, as Miraftab (2009) suggests? On the one side from state promises of development, offering occasional indications of movement in that directions; and on the other, political agency of the poor co-opted by NGOs or agencies with other other agendas (*ibid.*), or community acquiescence driven by expectation and hope.

Amidst this quantitative review, it is important to examine the qualitative realities on the ground. Included in the informal housing stock described by Sexwale (2010) are "freehold" informal settlement stands as well as informal tenancy or backyard shacks. As an example of this, Diepsloot is made up of state-subsidised housing, site and service stands, a transit camp, informal settlement and backyard shacks. These typologies begin to blur the spatial understanding of home, as described by Madanipour (2003), as a separation of public and private space and a purveyor of privacy. Is the right to privacy yet another right that the urban poor go without? Grace, the tenant of a backyard shack that she shares with her three children, describes a typical home context in Diepsloot as 4-6 shacks on a stand in addition to the state-subsidised house (Mjungula, personal communication, 8 Dec. 2007). A toilet serving the shacks' residents is piggybacked into the infrastructure from the house (Figure 03.8). She explains that you rent the space on the stand and are then responsible for building your own superstructure, which, although there are builders for hire, most people do themselves from secondhand materials. In general, due to the high cost of windows, the shacks are dark and lack ventilation. The metal construction lacks insulation, making them hot in the summer and cold in winter.

Grace describes her struggles to keep out the rain and the rats, but still she considers this a step up from life in an informal settlement; at least here, she argues, there is separation from the greater community and her children have space to play. Mda's fictional description of informal, dense living conditions illustrates this distinction:

'Toloki was not at all bothered by the passing crowds. He is used to public ablutions. And the passers-by were not gawking at him. They were going about their business. In any case, in the settlement people generally wash themselves outside their shacks. There isn't enough room inside for ablutions.' (Mda, 1995:156).

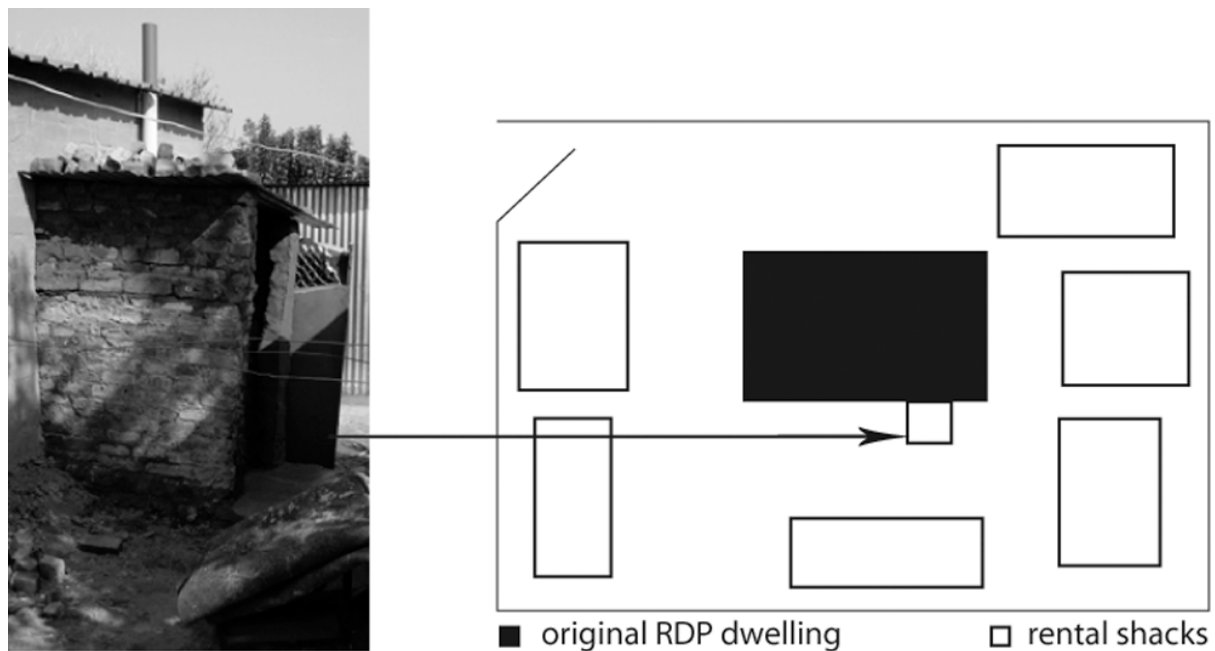


Figure 03.8: Documented typology of a RDP dwelling with fenced stand, backyard shacks and a piggybacked toilet in Diepsloot township (photo and diagram by author).

A newer trend in South Africa is tenancy in informal settlements. It is the same as the typology just described, except that there is no infrastructure. Less frequently rentals are built units with an absentee landlord. Additional evidence has come to light of settlement leadership extracting payment from new residents for the right to occupy stands in previously cleared areas of the settlement. Marx (2003) points out this group, who pay fees for their living space, are often the most vulnerable as the cost is often above their means and consequently they are frequently forced to move on. As he also points out, there is not the same level of commitment to the settlement community or the dwelling from tenants (*ibid.*). This will be evidenced in the case study data from Makause in Chapter 07.

This section showed how the State's housing policy has shifted from need-based to market driven. This shift was paralleled by urban spatial change and varying levels of tolerance toward informal settlement. Despite this, innovative policies were added to the Housing Code in 2004, opening the door to the alternative approach of *in situ* upgrading. However, statistics show that there has been no corresponding decrease in housing need. This reflects the provincial and municipal rejection of this methodology. The section goes on to describe the informal response of backyard shacks in both formal and informal housing environments as a means to increase housing stock.

section 03.2.2 Spatial development through hegemonic bridge building: how the relationships of the state, NGOs, and civic movements have shaped the urban landscape through symptomatic upgrading

This section examines efforts of upgrading that have occurred in the late apartheid, transition and post-apartheid eras. A growing body of literature suggests that regularisation and NGO supported self-help preserve the *status quo* housing situation in the context of South Africa's post apartheid housing backlog, as has been discussed in this chapter and the last. Huchzermeyer (2011) explains these two approaches to upgrading and how they utilise the relationships of the state, NGOs and social movements to support informal settlement as a temporary housing solution (Table 03.4).

Table 03.4: Two forms of upgrading explained by Huchzermeyer (reproduced from Huchzermeyer, 2011:199).

Interpretation of 'informal settlement upgrading'	Also referred to as...	Proponents of this interpretation
Interim basic servicing coupled with temporary security of tenure, while awaiting relocation or permanent 'formalisation' as above.	Regularisation	• Consultants working under Urban LandMark • City of Johannesburg's Regularisation Programme
<i>Ad hoc</i> improvements in the form of community-based self-help construction of basic services (e.g. taps, communal ablutions, community halls and houses).	NGO supported self-help	• Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) • Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP)

Charlton (2006) uses the upgrading of Bester's Camp to make her case that these practices were also in place in the late apartheid era. 1989 was still a time when policies were in place to at best neglect, and at worst eradicate informal settlement.

However, van Horen (2000) points out that despite this the NGO backed upgrading of Bester's Camp was undertaken by the Urban Foundation's Informal Settlement Division with initial collaborative funding from the municipal government. This project has certain similarities to the World Bank supported upgrading of George, discussed in the previous chapter. Like George, the primary focus at Bester's Camp was on road improvements, storm water drainage and the basic service provision of water taps, toilets and electricity (Schlyter, 1981; van Horen, 2000). However, van Horen (2000:389) makes the argument that it became mired in 'a narrow concern with legality and illegality' and thus became driven by inappropriate building codes. Additionally, van Horen (2000) suggests that the greatest weakness of the Bester's Camp project was that unlike in the George project there was a disregard for existing informal stand "ownership" and an insistence for legally registrable, individual tenure (*ibid.*). Partway through the project it was mandated that individual site subsidies would only be paid out on stands with legal, individual tenure; which van Horen (2000) argues was a venture to formalise the land market. Contrary to van Horen (2000), Charlton (2006) suggests in her overview of early, eThekwin (Durban) based upgrades, including Bester's Camp, that there is perhaps much to be learned from these initial projects. She argues that 'These interventions can broadly be grouped into two aspects, that of delivery of physical products...and that of the process by which this is to be achieved' (*ibid.*:51). She is referring to the provision of tenure and basic social and physical services through community participation in both the planning and construction phases of the project. However, it is important to point out that the project was not community driven but rather channeled community participation through the Inanda Community Development Trust, a legal entity that was mandated by the initial funders to represent the residents. Van Horen (2000) considers that the decision to preserve the existing character of the settlement was the residents' primary contribution. Charlton (2006) points out that great effort was made to honour this during the process of service delivery and that for the most part settlement patterns remained intact, limiting the need for resettlement.

Another, later example of interim upgrading is the regularisation of Zevenfontein. Hill and van Heerden's (2003:17) describe how

'Over the years local government has provided the settlement with basic facilities such as converted shipping containers and a corrugated metal structure for use as offices and a

community hall respectively, street lighting at the entrance to the settlement, some road maintenance, water and sanitary services, refuse skips, public telephones, a few post office boxes on mobile trailers, a creche and rudimentary social welfare and healthcare'.

However, these *ad hoc* symptomatic improvements by the state and NGOs proved to be temporary measures. The land on which Zevenfontein stood was 'sold and is destined for more affluent development', the irresolution of land tenure is a common scenario in South African upgrading practices and it underlines the potential impermanence of the NGO-supported, self-help approach without tenure security (Hill and van Heerden, 2003:17). Huchzermeyer, Karam and Maina (unpublished manuscript) describe the current informal development trends in the greater Johannesburg-Ekurhuleni area. Largely these follow the historic patterns described earlier: informal settlement continues to grow around the black townships of Soweto, Diepsloot, Ivory Park, Alexandra and Wattville (*ibid.*). In addition, but on a smaller scale, informal settlement has followed the east/west rail-line bisecting the greater municipal areas of Johannesburg and into Ekurhuleni (*ibid.*). As these municipalities' political and development policies change there is invariably conflict regarding land use and ownership.

In recent years, some South African municipalities have chosen to partner with Cities Alliance (*cum* UN Habitat *cum* the World Bank) and NGOs such as Slum Dwellers International (SDI) to address urban upgrading, which has lead to a revisiting of the site-and-services model. To this end, Cities Alliance offers: technical support, their own funding and their ability to attract international capital investment for infrastructure projects (Marrengane, 2006). Support is granted if a city agrees to three stipulations: the first is city development strategies that create channels of communication between stakeholders and cities' plans for development 'with clear priorities for actions and investments' (*ibid.*:slide 6). The second is upgrading in line with the principles of *Cities without Slums* and MDG Target 11, the ramifications of which were discussed in the previous chapter (*ibid.*). The third is a city's ability to attract long term international and domestic capital investment for infrastructure projects (*ibid.*).

Hand in hand with this problematic dynamic of delivery approach, is the concern in the literature of the consequences of entanglement between large international

NGOs and grassroots social movements (Cox, 2001; Miraftab, 2009; Podlashuc, 2010; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Podlashuc, 2011). Huchzermeyer (2011) suggests that in South Africa SDI draws in such grassroots social movements as the Federation for the Urban Poor (FEDUP) and the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) to gain access to urban development decision-making and resources. She (2011:60) also expresses concern that SDI is becoming increasingly influential on the urban development world stage and thus is able to further their agenda of individually owned, self-built housing by 'encourag[ing] the mobilisation of the meagre resources of the poor, through saving and credit'. While SDI has garnered much support from the international development powerhouses with this concept, Podlashuc (2010:1) questions this in his controversial review of their work in South Africa. He makes the point that SDI has become the 'default representative of the poor' to the the major neoliberally minded international development agencies, and that as a result the truly local grassroots voices have been silenced (*ibid.*). As will be shown in the next section, S'bu Zikode of Abahlali and others object to this co-opting of local interests and needs (Zikode, 2010b): 'housing policy does not only require housing specialists, rich consultants and government. We believe that housing policy requires, most importantly, the people who need the houses' (Zikode, 2008a: 115). This is echoed by women in South African informal settlements who state that the concept of self-help housing is not necessarily realistic when they are working full-time and are single mothers raising children (personal communication, Siphethu, 03 March 2008; Mjungula, personal communication 15 March 2008).

The policies and practices surrounding informal settlement and upgrading in this section tell the story of why the model of informality as evolutionary urban development, as discussed in the previous chapter, has not worked in South Africa. Given the body of literature presented, Marx (2003:310) justly argues that it is 'the symptoms of the failure of society and policy to realise the rights of citizens' that is '*status quo*-preserving'. This section has shown that the policies that have been put into practice in South Africa have largely followed the international development trends of infrastructure provision and individual legal tenure. This represents a move away from RDP principles aimed at spatially restructuring the cities to achieve integration and the more progressive approach of *in situ* upgrading. Consequently, it

can be argued that the informal residents' various housing efforts serve as the *status quo* answer to the State's housing backlog. However, as has been evidenced, there is not a simple answer to problematic dilemma. The push for competitive cities in the drive for world class status and international investment dollars often conflicts with informal development patterns resulting in "slum" clearing. Also pointed out, was the complicated partnering/co-opting relationship between NGOs, development agencies and informal communities, which in practice often obstructs the potential for informal housing to consolidate *via* real bottom up development.

section03.3 Insurgent urban development: defiance and the demand for access to full citizenship spatially reflected in the city's landscape

'I feel like calling 'Amandla!' [Power!]....When the poor become powerful outside the state control...when the unorganized become organized, when those who are not meant to speak, speak' (S'bu Zikode, 2010b:no page number).

This section explores the idea of informality as a form of defiance; as the discussion on insurgency in the previous chapter argued, it becomes a means to access citizenship (Holston,1998). In South Africa, early insurgent developments occurred as acts of rebellion in the 1940s. These early examples of black grassroots social movements centred on housing issues and reflected the desire of urban residents' desire for their place in the city. Significantly, it signalled the beginning of the poor's use of civil infrastructure on their terms, for their own ends. Though largely silenced in the 1950s and 1960s, the section will go on to show that this mode of development was able to take advantage of the eroding apartheid controls in the late-1970s; and became a stronger force in the transitional years from 1993 to 1995. The mid-1990s were a time when the poor believed that they had the support of the new government behind them, informal residents stepped forward to claim well located land, basic services and opportunities. The section then turns to contemporary housing challenges and voices from the social movements in the organic discourse reflecting the sentiment that 'party politics has become the access to citizenship' (Zikode's, 2010b:no page number). The second half of the section will explain the concept of *in situ* upgrading and examine whether it has been carried out per the 2004 policy in South African cities.

section 03.3.1 Shaping the urban landscape from the bottom up

By the mid-1940s much of the black urban population was homeless or living in subtenancy and this desperate need for housing fuelled fledgling social movements. In March of 1944, after an announcement that subtenants would be expelled from black residential areas outside of Johannesburg, James Mpanza became the first to lead a group to invade a piece of well-situated land along the railway line near Orlando. Stadler (1979) and Bonner (1990) explain that this signalled the beginning of a larger movement around Johannesburg and Benoni led by Edward Khumalo, Abel Ntoi, Oriel Monongoaha and others. Stadler (1979:93) describes the initial invasion of 250 tents, as Figure 03.10 shows, rapidly grew to 6-8,000 residents 'occupy[ing] dwellings of hessian-sacking, wood, corrugated iron and cardboard'. What made this land invasion and the others that followed unique was the level of civic organization, there was a leader and a committee. Sofazonke, as the community was called, was divided into four blocks and administered by Mpanza. He also established a commodities cooperative to lower the cost of food and the sacking and poles needed to build tents (*ibid.*). Mrs. Moteka, a resident, describes the conditions in the camp: 'When it was raining we all got wet. I remember one night it rained very heavily and when we woke up my child was almost covered in water' (Bonner, 1990:97 quoting Moteka). While clearly the conditions were bad, this location allowed residents a place closer to the livelihood opportunities offered by the city. Confronting inevitable clashes with the state, the informal settlements made a stand against peripheralisation (Figure 03.9). Stadler (1979:123) sums up the face-off:

'[t]he persistence of squatting, despite the efforts of the state to eliminate it, sometimes by ruthless measures like bull-dozing squatter shacks, is testimony to the determination of people drafted into the industrial work-force to achieve *de facto* ownership of land in the vicinity of industrial development'.

Sofazonke was demolished by the City of Johannesburg in the late 1940s (Figure 03.10). However, as Bonner (1990) points out, Mpanza's work to organise the land invasion, to set up community leadership, and to use the law to consolidate communities was the beginning of grassroots social movements' role in housing demands. Stadler (1979:93) highlights Oriel Monongoaha's comment: 'The government sends its policemen to chase us away and we move off and occupy another spot. We shall see whether it is the farmer or the birds who get tired first'. Although these efforts would be stamped out in the 1950s, it was the beginning of a

trend of emancipatory politics and mobilisation originating in the shack communities. In the previous chapter there were discussions from the literature on subalternism and the question of the agency of the poor, these early actions and those that have since followed are the basis of Pithouse's (2012:5) statement that on 'the terrain of actually existing practices it is necessary to take the actuality of subaltern urbanisms seriously'.



Figure 03.9: Sofazonke settlement resulting from the Mpanza led land invasion outside Orlando in 1944 (reproduced from *Birds in the Cornfield*, 1994).



Figure 03.10: The late 1940s forced clearing of Sofazonke (reproduced from *Birds in the Cornfield*, 1994 copyright pending).

The 1950s and 1960s represent a period of severe apartheid oppression. However, as Pithouse (2009b:241) points out, 'the racialised regulation of space under apartheid was increasingly undone by insurgent popular action from the late 1970s'. This defiance was in response to apartheid's use of housing not just as a means of spatial control but also as a means of social control (*ibid.*; Huchzermeyer, 7 Feb. 2012 personal communication). Pithouse (2009b) explains that submissive

communities with appropriate political leanings were dealt with with leniency, while those sheltering 'agitators' in their midst or which posed political opposition were denied concessions. The agitators themselves were denied access to housing (*ibid.*). Madlingozi (2007) describes how in the 1980s the coming together of these defiant community groups shifted isolated struggles into a collective national movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF). He goes on to explain that the UDF was 'shaped more by pragmatic efforts than ideology' and that while in the beginning they stood up against such things as forced removals and relocations to the homelands, their actions evolved into a united fight against apartheid (*ibid.*:83). Madlingozi (2007:85) argues that the UDF's absorption into the political ANC in the late 1980s was a pivotal moment: 'The language that was used during the adoption of the Freedom Charter...shows the lack of tolerance for ideological plurality that had up until then been the mainstay of the UDF'. Finally, he points out that this plus the hegemonic character of the ANC and its allies thoroughly undermined the diversity that had been present in UDF. Clearly this is a complex period that cannot be justly unpacked in this thesis. However, it is worth noting the lost diversity in the dynamic of co-opted ideology, drawing parallels to the contemporary housing struggle, and remembering Pithouse's (2009b) comments above regarding those communities that don't align themselves with the ANC. On the one hand, some academics are voicing concern over large international NGOs such as SDI drawing grassroots movements into their midst and the subsequent uniformity to the housing response (Cox, 2001; Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Miraftab, 2009; Huchzermeyer, 2011). On the other, it is worth noting the shift in scale that has taken place with the expansion of local issues to the national level. Appadurai (2011:32) argues that with the increased voice comes increased knowledge. He describes the concept of 'cosmopolitanism from below' as a 'cosmopolitanism driven by the exigencies of exclusion' through a connection with wider horizons.

The transition period to a non-racial, democratic society began with a mass democratic movement in 1988 and is widely considered to extend through Mbeki's re-election in 2004 (Bawa, 2005). Insurgency and subaltern urbanism, as they have been discussed in this study, came strongly into play for a short span during the

transition around the 1994 elections. Saff's (1996:235, 251) review of this era suggests that a certain level of integration occurred as a result of insurgence:

'The weakness of the central state during the transition period offered equally unique opportunities for the urban poor to subvert the class and racial dynamics of the apartheid city - opportunities that some took by squatting on prime pieces of vacant land in a few affluent white suburbs'.

On the other hand Christopher's (2001) work, based on the 1996 census, seems to counter this. His findings showed that while overall levels of urban spatial segregation were declining in the 1990s, the urban-bound migrating populations of rural poor were increasingly segregated: 'The migration of poverty-stricken people from the rural areas [has] effectively segregated informal settlements on the urban margins' (*ibid.*:458). In other words, desegregation was occurring only in the affluent African demographic. This spatial phenomenon, he argues, is a consequence of 'migrants [who] were unable to purchase or occupy property in former White group areas' (*ibid.*:458). This implies that because migrants couldn't afford to purchase land in socio-economically desirable areas of the city they settled for peripherally located informal settlements until the government came through on its promise of housing provision, which parallels the phenomenon discussed in the previous section. In a later paper, Christopher (2005) suggests that it is no longer racial policy but economic reality that is channelling urban growth to the fringes and effectively further entrenching the apartheid urban spatial patterns.

Saff's (1996) and Christopher's (2001) papers on the spatial evolution during this transition period seem on the surface contradictory, however, together they are a useful summary of a complex phenomenon that occurred during the transition period. During this time, in a window from 1993 to 1995 informal settlement was largely tolerated by the state because it was seen as a means for black South Africans to assert their rights to citizenship.

As informality became less tolerated in the late-1990s, the assertive tone of informal settlement became more defiant. Reminiscent of Mpanza's efforts in the 1940s, some groups of informal residents began to demand their rights as granted in the new constitution. To this end, the courts again became a tool for grassroots social movements in the post-apartheid era. Since 2000 there have been key interjections

from South Africa's Constitutional Court impacting housing policy decisions. One of the most significant rulings, as mentioned in the previous section, was the 2000 Constitutional Court decision on social and economic rights as relates to housing for the poor, in the case of the

'Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v. Grootboom and Others the court declared the government to be in breach of its constitutional obligations, and required it to reasonably implement a program that at a minimum provides for those living in intolerable or crisis situations' (Wickeri, 2004:iii).

This ruling had the potential to change the spatial trends in urban development and stop the municipal practices of forced eviction and relocation. While the widespread improvements for informal residents did not transpire, Wickeri (2004) maintains that this ruling has become a critical tool in communities' arsenal against illegal evictions. And further that its repeated use by communities as a legal precedent is 'building a growing body of right-to-housing case law' (*ibid.*:iii). Additionally, Pithouse (2012:20) points out that 'the higher courts do provide an experience of recognition as a dignified citizens equal, in principle, to other citizens'.

In recent years the Constitutional and High Courts have continued to be used by grassroots social movements to legitimate their rights as South African citizens and fight for a place *in* the city as opposed to on its periphery. In 2009 Abahlali successfully challenged the constitutionality of the controversial KwaZulu-Natal Elimination and Prevention of Re-emergence of Slums Act, 2007. This was an action that the former president of Abahlali, S'bu Zikode (Riz Khan, 2010:no page number), explains that represented something bigger than housing; it was 'a move to protect our hard won democracy and the constitution of our country'. As such, it was a defiant stance against what Bond (2003) and Madlingozi (2007) call the ANC's right-leaning agenda to demobilise civil society. It is in this context that Madlingozi (2007:91 quoting Desai and Pithouse, 2004) states: 'it is in organisations like these...that the real fight to defend and deepen our democracy is being fought'. It is a defiant stance against the dynamic that Fanon (1961) described as apartheid oppressor's violence and which is now being revisited by the ANC (McDougal, 2010; Zikode, 2010b). It is also a defiant stance against the sort of violent persecution and denial of access towards "agitators" and communities with the wrong political leanings that Pithouse (2009b) described perpetrated in the 1970s by the National Party and that is being revisited by the ANC (Zikode, 2010b from the organic

discourse; Huchzermeyer, 2011). What Abahlali and other social movements are fighting against parallels what was described in the previous chapter as the 'delegitimizing and criminalizing' carried out by the oppressor against the oppressed (Yiftachel, 2009). Zikode and Kell (Riz Khan, 2010) explain that winning the Constitutional Court case is a victory for young South Africans, the next generation of oppressed who believe that they are carrying on the work of Nelson Mandela for an equitable society. This is the avenue that they believe has been distorted by the current ANC leadership, and which they believe will be the means to their place in the city (*ibid.*).

Other important cases include the 2009 case brought by residents of Joe Slovo informal settlement and supported by the grassroots movement Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) to question the evictions and relocations associated with the N2 Gateway project that was discussed in the previous chapter. Like the apartheid spatial planning objective mentioned earlier, the intent here was to clear all shacks from the main road between the international airport and Cape Town. In this case the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of the City of Cape Town, allowing communities to be moved to distant decant or transit camps (Miraftab, 2009; Huchzermeyer, 2011). Also in 2009 the leader of the Harry Gwala Community Committee, Johnson Matotoba Nokotyana, brought a case against the city of Ekurhuleni to the Constitutional Court premised on Chapter 13 of the Housing Code for the provision of dignified basic services, this case was lost. However, Hathorn (personal communication, 20 July 2010), Harry Gwala's legal representative, and Huchzermeyer (2011:12) suggest that this was a disappointing example of the 'persistent misreading' of Chapter 13 of the Housing Code. As Harry Gwala is one of my case study settlements, this case will be discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8 as part of the fieldwork findings.

This section has shown the contrast between urban development based on top down models as has been discussed in the previous sections and the potential of bottom up urban development based on the mobilisation of the urban poor. South Africa's history of subaltern mobilisation and insurgency are key in building the argument for the validity of this approach. The voice that the poor have *via* the Courts is critical.

section 03.3.2 Challenging the *status quo*: *in situ* upgrading on the terms of independent social movements

Section 03.2's discussion made an argument that informality is a means to support the *status quo*, a potential confronting force is insurgency. Miraftab (2009:39) comments that in this light the 'actions of the poor...directly confront the authorities and challenge the *status quo*'. As has been shown, the Courts have become one means of response. However, just as Liggett (2009) characterises cities as heteroglossic, one can argue the need for diverse actions in response to the city. Given the earlier reviews on insurgency and subalternism, this section explores how *in situ* upgrading can become part of a bottom up response.

Multiple hurdles to *in situ* upgrading have been identified in the literature. Abbott (2002) and Robins (2002) suggest that technocratically one of the most difficult issues to grapple with is how to appropriately address the continual changes in spatial form and population size. In tackling this, Robins (2002:523) argues that, 'planners [need to] recognise the highly improvisational and fluid character of everyday life'. He goes on to point out the necessity for planning and implementation processes to come to terms with the metaphysics of change if meaningful interventions are to be made in the informal setting. Liggett (2009) also comments on the mismatch between the largely 'Western-centric intellectual traditions' so prevalent in the urban planning and research dialogue and the *de facto* realities of the informal settlement contexts. In the context of this study, the Department of Human Settlements (EMM, 2011b) in Ekurhuleni acknowledges this mismatch of planning strategies to context in their 2010/2011 *Status Quo* Report.

Huchzermeyer (2009:60) points out two further hurdles to *in situ* upgrading in the South African context. The first is the need for 'institutional and regulatory change', and second is the requisite political will to overcome barriers as they come to light (*ibid.*). Her later paper underlines these discrepancies, stating that given the reviews by McIntosh Xaba and Associates (2008) and Urban Landmark for the office of the President, none of South Africa's major cities have undergone the *in situ* upgrading approach outlined in Chapter 13 of the Housing Code (Huchzermeyer, 2010 citing Misselhorn, 2008). The only exception to this is the concession from the City of Cape Town made late in 2008 to fund Phase I of the Hangberg informal settlement

upgrading project after much lobbying and preliminary planning work by the NGO Development Action Group (DAG). However, this project has since been put on hold (Macgregor, personal communication, 25 June 2010).

Perhaps NGO driven upgrading is the wrong direction. These comments portray *in situ* upgrading as a top down approach; an alternative is *in situ* upgrading as a bottom up approach. To this end the state and technocracy must adopt supporting roles, the leading role must be the residents'. This calls to mind Fanon's (1961/2001:3-4) suggestion that in a capitalist society, education, the familial teachings of moral belief systems, and the honouring of an irreproachable work ethic all foster a 'respect for the *status quo*', which in turn, 'instill[s] in the exploited a mood of submission'. Steve Biko's (1978:68) words closely parallel these, stating that black people must understand that 'the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed'. Both of these infer that there must be a change in will at the bottom as well as at the top. The *in situ* upgrading approach described by Huchzermeyer (2011) in Table 03.5 requires this from the residents. Huchzermeyer (2009:60) identifies '[mindset change...as the main intervention required to unlock *in situ* upgrading'. This model, viewed as a form of insurgent development, would demand that the residents let go of their expectation that the government will provide housing and shed what Biko describes as the "baggage" of the oppressed. Does this suggest that an *in situ* upgrading effort needs to originate from the communities themselves? Pithouse (2012:23) insists that given the: body of right-to-housing law that is being built by informal communities' legal actions; the organisation of legal, non-violent protests; and the illegal revolts by communities against inadequate basic services or cost recovery policies on basic services, 'shack dwellers are certainly as capable as all other people of developing and expressing explicit political agency'. This implies that the roots of this model must be in what Zikode (2008a), in his organic discourse, presents as 'Our politics...a traditional home politics, which is understood very well by all the old *mamas* (mothers) and *gogos* (grandmothers) because it affects their lives and gives them a home'?

The previous chapter discussion on informality included Roy's (2004) warning against the aestheticisation of poverty and informal settlements, in the same vein

Madlingozi (2007 citing Bond, 2006) advises against the exaggeration and romanticisation of social movements. As the literature points out, viewing these social movements with a certain level of honesty and circumspection is necessary. Neocosmos (2004) suggests that it is important to remember that their goals range from incorporation into the *status quo* to transforming and deepening South Africa's popular democracy. However, as Madlingozi (2007) points out, it is undeniable that through these social movements, participants contest the State's ability to achieve the same levels of social and spatial control seen during the apartheid era. This is underlined by Zikode and others in the organic discourse who argue that it is the local residents in these movements that should lead the housing resolution.

Table 03.5: *In situ* upgrading deciphered in 'Divergent interpretations of 'upgrading' in South Africa (with some simplification)' (reproduced from Huchzermeyer, 2011:199).

Interpretation of 'informal settlement upgrading'	Also referred to as...	Proponents of this interpretation
Permanent securing of tenure, rehabilitation of unsuitable land, meaningful community participation in decision-making, permanent provision of infrastructure, services and facilities with minimal disruption of people's lives, assistance with house improvements. Relocation only as a last resort.	<i>In situ</i> upgrading	• Volume 3 and 4 of the Housing Code (previously Chapter 13) • National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP) • Development Action Group (DAG) - Cape Town • Abahlali - Durban and Cape Town • Various housing rights lawyers and organisations

The previous chapter discussed the cultural manifestations of space in the context of insurgency (Daniels and Cosgrove (1988; Caldeira, 2008). In other words, the various voices with which informal residents tell their story. In this light, Hanson (2006) describes Durban's taxis (the minibus system of public transportation that connects peripheral black communities to city centres across South Africa). He suggests that they are territorialising the city with the sound of their loud music, effectively redefining space, as they move through the urban landscape, 'The sound signals many things...the township itself...a space of blackness that is plebeian, nonsense, defiant, and, potentially, violent' (Hanson, 2006:188). He goes on to comment that

'Music is at the visceral heart of ethnicity, not merely as ethnic music, but as an emotional anchor for feelings of attachment...to banal pleasures of community life...listening to music involves the invocation and remembrance of locations, the recognition and categorization of styles, and the enabling of a range of emotionally powerful associations – including both images and sensations' (*ibid. Ibid.*: 200).

This elicits an image of spatial tentacles reaching from peripheral black communities into all parts of the city.

Documentary film is another such avenue. *Masizakhe: Building Each Other* (2008), tells the story of young rappers questioning the contemporary government policy and reflects on poverty and life in informal settlements of Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Similarly the documentary film *Dear Mandela* (2011) 'follows the journey of three friends living in the Kennedy Road settlement, a Durban shantytown, who refuse to be moved when the South African government begins evicting shack dwellers from their homes' (Versfeld, 2012). The movie portrays the community's struggles, including their fight against the 'Slums Act' to claim their constitutional right to housing, which led them ultimately to the Constitutional Court. Firefox Media and Amnesty International are screening this film throughout South Africa (*ibid.*) and there are plans it is being shown at film festivals around the world (personal communication, Kell 15 March 2012). Again this is a means to introduce the socio-spatial reality of the urban periphery into the mainstream city.

This section has brought to light various forms of political agency utilised by informal residents in South Africa. Beginning in the 1940s, land invasion and the Courts have been two of the strongest tools that the poor have employed to gain their right to city. The discussion then moved to the present-day and the potential of *in situ* upgrading as tool in the hands of informal residents to bring about socio-spatial change from the bottom up.

Conclusion

Two decades ago in their paper on Sophiatown, Hart and Pirie (1984:3) made the observation that 'the caricature of slums drawn by external observers is exposed as myth: deprivation is not always endemic and total'. This chapter, based on the South African experience, and the previous chapter based largely on international literature around informality, have attempted to articulate the potential role for informal settlement as something more than a "slum" or a *status quo* queue in which to wait for something else in the future. This is not to say that living in informal settlements, whether as a tenant or on a "freehold" stand, should be romanticised (Roy, 2004). A recent study of informal settlements in Durban, Buffalo City and Alexandra

(Johannesburg) shows that the level of satisfaction for dwellings and basic services is unacceptably low (Richards *et al.*, 2007).

Persistence, born of need, is still often the only thing that stands between shacks and bulldozers. Zakes Mda (1995:119) captures this in his poignant description of shack clearing:

‘He had joined homeless people who defiantly built their shacks there against the wishes of the government. Bulldozers came and destroyed the settlement. But as soon as they left, the structures rose again’.

The urban development practice of eviction and relocation to peripheral sites occurred during apartheid and is occurring today. However, as has been shown, it is transpiring from two very different starting points. Under apartheid there was a clear and logical, though horrific, pathway from the menacing rhetoric and principles of racial discrimination to black settlement clearing. In post-apartheid times, the pathway that has led to settlement clearing is not clear and logical. Madiba’s 1994 RDP principles of dignity, inclusion and empowerment for all are still felt: ‘even as Mr. Mandela fades from view, he retains a vital place in the public consciousness here’ (Dugger, 2009). The principles that he represented have been complicated by the politico-economic need to house millions in an urbanising population on the one hand, and the socio-economic expectations of that population on the other. In an effort to find balance the State has introduced neoliberal economic trends to boost foreign investment. This has resulted in the adoption of international development norms that do not always parallel the socio-economic needs of informal residents. At the core of this trend are the principles of privatisation, cost recovery and international investment, which at times overshadows ideals of Mandela’s rainbow nation. In 2004, new policy suggested a move away from capital subsidy, but again this has not materialised at any meaningful scale. This chapter has illustrated that du Plessis’s (2008) analogy of South Africa’s conflicting ideologies with political schizophrenia rings sadly true, and this lack of resolution plagues the path forward for progressive settlement upgrading efforts.

The spatial form of South Africa’s post apartheid cities reflects the urban development born of these conflicting ideologies. The collision of continued desire to provide housing to the poor with the mainstream real estate market has led to the

use of widely available, less expensive land on the urban edge. The result is a continuation of apartheid urban spatial patterns: peripheral, standardised housing projects. Thus the first two sections of this chapter have illustrated why aligning with the formal/informal and informality as a form of evolutionary urban development models have proven to be widely unsuccessful in South Africa.

The final section requires what Miraftab (2009:45) calls, “an upside-down” look at the world of development’. What has been suggested is the potential for *in situ* upgrading as a bottom up development tool driven directly by the residents themselves. This manifestation of insurgent development needs a twofold change in political will, on the one hand an unrelenting drive from the bottom up, and on the other political and technocratic support for this move. Particularly in South Africa with its history of oppressive ideology manifested in spatial separation, the task may prove a difficult one. The dialogue in this and the previous chapters suggests that the post-1996 political embrace of neoliberalism makes this barrier ever higher. However, as Madlingozi (2007:77) comments: ‘Poor communities have started organising themselves in order to challenge the government’s neoliberal policies as well as marginalization from structure and governance’. As has been discussed here, this challenge has largely taken the forms of social movements and legal challenges. Both of these will be explored further in Chapters 07 and 08 through fieldwork in the case study communities.

The discussions in the previous chapter used international literature to generate the arena of informality in which this study can be placed. This chapter set the study’s context in South Africa at large while trying to further focus on the greater Johannesburg area. Keeping this in mind, the next chapter will articulate the study’s theoretical framework.

chapter 04 INFORMAL PLACES AMID GLOBALISED GEOGRAPHIES: A THEORETICAL EXPLORATION OF THE DYNAMICS OF PLACE, POWER, AND 'RIGHT TO THE CITY'

“place” places man in such a way that it reveals the external bounds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality’ (Heidegger, 1958:19).

“A philosophical theory” says Deleuze...”is a developed question, and nothing else: by itself, in itself, it involves, not the resolution of a problem, but the development to the fullest extent of the necessary implications of a formulated question...To put things in question means to subordinate and submit things to the question in such a way that, in this forced and constrained submission, things reveal to us an essence, a nature” (Deleuze quoted in Bogue, 1989:9).

Introduction

This chapter functions as a pause between the literature-rooted discussions describing informal settlement in part one of this thesis and the fieldwork and application-rooted exploration in part two. The intent is to engage the concepts of informality with appropriate theory in order to build the methodology for the the study. To this end theory must, as Seigworth and Wise (2000:139) put it, be more than 'window dressing...to add a dash of colour'. Brown (2002:573-4) suggests that 'Theory is not simply different from description; rather, it is incommensurate with description' and 'Theory is not simply the opposite of application but carries the impossibility of application'; what I am aiming at is Deleuze's (Foucault and Deleuze, 1972) suggestion that a 'theory is exactly like a box of tools...It must be useful...It must function...And not for itself'. To accomplish this I have taken to heart Brown's (2002:574) statement that 'theory is never “accurate” or “wrong”; it is only more or less illuminating, more or less provocative, more or less of an incitement to thought, imagination, desire, possibilities for renewal’.

In this discussion, I draw on ideas from different theoretical and academic arenas rooted in different geographies, for as Brown comments 'If we do not make...crossings, we literally make ourselves stupid, about the world and...knowledge', given the globality and diversity of the study's discussions to date, this seems appropriate. In this vein, Mufti (2005:487) suggests a 'framework of global comparativism' which would 'displace and realign the axis of “comparison”...from *Europe* or the West to *the planet*'. In essence, this would make Eurocentric *vis-à-vis* global-North influence part of a larger dynamic, which would

also include the often subalternised local thought in an effort to understand the impact of globalisation and global polarities in the spatial dialectic. Given this, a geographical range begins to articulate which, in the context of this study, would include Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa - more than half the world's continents would be involved in this new 'axis'. At first thought this seems beyond the scope of this study, and yet previous chapters' discussions have included housing paradigms from South America; politico-economic trends from Europe and North America; urban development/planning models from Europe and the Americas; investment capital from Europe and North America; social movement from Asia; and a context in Africa. This list gives weight to Mufti's (2005:473) thoughts that Eurocentrism (which could be expanded to global-Northism) is an 'epistemological problem', which parallels the concepts of the previous chapter and highlights the need for Africa to be more than a context. Also in line with the study's discussion, he goes on to point out "nonrepressive and nonmanipulative" forms of knowledge...have to be more encompassing and more comparatist' (*ibid.*:489).

One might ask how these ideas of theory coalesce with the study's more pragmatic review of informal space. In response, I put forward two theories. First, Gyekye (1997:7) argues that 'philosophy raises fundamental and profound questions *about* experience' implying a closer connection to the everyday. And second, Brown (2002:573-4) suggests that theory is 'a meaning-making enterprise...Theory does not simply decipher the meanings of the world but recodes and rearranges meaning to reveal something about the meanings and incoherencies that we live with'; to paraphrase, she goes on to state that theory can throw off convention and reveal, illuminate, interpret, incite, speculate, imagine and renew. Given this, the discussion takes to heart Dikeç's (2010:804) comment that it is 'crucial to abandon...[the] user's manual readings of theory...to avoid interpreting universal statements of theory as necessarily universalising ones that make one mode of thinking normal and normative'. This is particularly relevant because it speaks to two issues which have been raised thus far, Eurocentrist thinking and the UN-Habitat's role as 'normative entrepreneur'. Given Gyekye's (1997) comment above which relates philosophy to experience, it is perhaps worth repeating my research question at this point: What are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal communities in relation to

residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours, and what is the significance of these to *in situ* upgrading approaches? And further, how does the changing character of place, through upgrading, evolving development, or relocation impact these?

With Healey's (2004:46) notion to 're-imagine a city' in mind, the chapter is divided into three primary discussions. The first is aimed at understanding the character of place (Heidegger, 1958; Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991). The second asks what is power and how does it influence the discussion on housing environments (Foucault, 1980, 1986; Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991). Finally, the third brings in Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the right of all urban citizens to the city. From the onset, I am aware that I am placing European and North American theorists into the context of Africa. Much of the African-based literature expresses a concern that the majority of planning theory has been developed on a base of western empirical and anecdotal tradition, Harrison (2006:319) asserts that 'the relevance of contemporary planning theory is limited by its origins within the intellectual traditions and experiences of the West' (see also Mabin, 2001; Watson, 2002).

As was discussed earlier, Liggett (2009) and Roy (2009), among others from the North/West echo this sentiment. On the other hand, as Watson (2002:41) points out, 'in some respects they [Western theories] offer important insights that planners in Africa will do well to draw from'. In response to these concerns I turn to Gyekye (1997:8), himself an African philosopher in the Western tradition, who states that 'the essential task of philosophy is to speculate critically on human experience'; and Wallerstein (1997) and Dikeç (2010), who question the assumption that European-based theory in and of itself is problematic. With this in mind, it is worth noting Dikeç's (2010:802) assertion that it is the transplanting of 'theory or theoretical statements as a "model" to be "applied", regardless of the fact that they may have been inspired by and [are] responding to particular contexts' that is problematic. He finds this particularly problematic in post-colonial contexts (*ibid.*). He adds that the need for 'criticising and destabilising', both embedded in Eurocentrism, are troubling knowledge structures in processes of knowledge production (*ibid.*:803).

As this discussion has shown *a priori* thinking using African context and European philosophy is a very fine line. It must remain in the combined realm of Seigworth and Wise's (2000:141 quoting Deleuze and Guattari, 1994:27) comment that "of course, new concepts must relate to our problems, to our history, and, above all, to our becomings"; of what Gyekey (1997) calls abstract but connected to experience; and at the same time Brown's (2002:573) concept that the world of theory is a 'world that does not quite exist, that is not quite the world we live in'. Given Dikeç's (2010) warning against the application of transplanted theoretical models, this study guards against *a priori* thought shifting into the realm of planning theory, planning practice or planning research. Instead, the following discussion attempts to tease concepts from the body of European theory/philosophy that can serve to illuminate and therefore further the understanding of the dimensions and expressions of sense of place that manifest in informal communities. To this end, it is not European/Western theoretical models that are of real interest. The concluding section of the chapter will locate the three discussions, on place, power and right to the city, in the context of informality in an effort to extract useful ideas for the study's methodology.

section04.1 Revisiting how we think about place

'Spaces receive their being from places and not from "the space"...Man's essential relationship to places, and through them to space, consists in dwelling...the essential property of existence' (Norberg-Schulz, 1971:16 citing Heidegger).

In his review of place and African philosophy, Janz (2002:13) suggests that the 'Greek model for human interaction...may well not apply to African life'. This said, he is not suggesting that all Western philosophy is therefore irrelevant. As discussed in the introduction, it is not a model we are looking for, but rather a different lens or way of looking at place in the context of African informality. To this end, this section reviews the concept of place chiefly through three philosophers: Martin Heidegger, whose writings Relph (1976:18) suggests 'are possibly the most relevant and the most significant on ontological foundations of place'; Henri Lefebvre whose dialectic approach to space and place has weighed heavily in urban theory in the later 20th century; and the largely joint works of Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari whose philosophy Seigworth and Wise (2000:142) state 'create[s] concepts for undiscussable problems posed'. What ties this group of thinkers together is that they all broke from the past by putting daily life experience at the centre of their

philosophical thinking.

Martin Heidegger's (1889-1976) thinking reflects a shift away from the fundamental concepts of Modernism and toward ideas that came to be known as Postmodernism. Of specific interest to this study are his concepts of *Dasein*, dwelling and Being. Vycinas (1969:2) comments that Heidegger considered his thought rooted in the 'very origins of reality', which set him apart from his philosophical contemporaries. Vycinas (1969) goes on to suggest that it is inaccurate to compartmentalise Heidegger's thinking into any of the philosophical or theoretical movements, instead arguing that all of his themes revolved around the single question of 'Being' (*ibid.*:3). This said, Merrifield (1993) argues that his contributions to Phenomenology and Existentialism greatly influenced many of the spatial thinkers who followed.

Vycinas (1969:11) describes Heidegger's rejection of subjectivism, believing it to be the philosophical circling of subjectivity and objectivity leading to nihilism or the 'forgottenness of Being'. However, Relph (1976) questions Heidegger's sweeping dismissal of objects in the context of place. But is he dismissing them? Heidegger's response to subjectivism explored the concept of hermeneutic phenomenology: understanding the whole through understanding the parts and the parts by understanding the whole - the Hermeneutic Circle. Gadamer's (1975) suggestion that this assumes that the existence of an aesthetic experience is of interest in light of the ideas of defamiliarisation and aesthetic device discussed in Chapter 02. There Shklovskij (1965:13) asserted that defamiliarisation, as an aesthetic device, is what gives the 'stone its ston[eness]'; drawing a parallel, Vycinas (1969) infers that for Heidegger it is understanding that gives being its beingness.

Similar to Shklovskij's concept, Mantzavinos (2009:36) suggests that Heidegger's notion of understanding implies pre-conception but not 'concrete mental operation' in other words, it is 'the way that people are, their way of being'. This speaks to how we are programmed to perceive things. For Heidegger this is the concept of *Dasein*: 'the reference of Being to the essence of man as well as man's essential relation to the openness of Being' (Heidegger, 1949:13 quoted in Vycinas, 1969:3). Vycinas (1969) explains that this act of 'openness' is the temporal element of Being. Relph (1976)

includes *Dasein* as a 'mode of being' in his discussion on authenticity and place. He describes this as individuals' 'freedom and responsibility for [their] own existence' (*ibid.*:64). In the same context, Buchanan and Lambert (2005:1) explain it as 'there-being', the relationship of people and place as 'place-being, not a being in a place'. They go on to suggest that this concept reflects Heidegger's effort to 'dissolve the separation' between humans and place (*ibid.*:1). Similar to Heidegger, Deleuze and Guattari, who will be discussed later in this section, contemplated this dissolution of the separateness of humans and their places in a process they called 'disjunctive synthesis' (Buchanan and Lambert, 2005:1).

To further explore the relationship of people and place, I turn to Vycinas's (1969) assertion that Heidegger's essay on Building-Dwelling-Thinking is an investigation into the ontological roots at the essence of the process of building/dwelling. Heidegger makes the point that in Old High German the word for building in fact meant dwelling, and that these two words were closely associated with Being: '[d]welling or building is "the manner by which we men are on the earth"' (Vycinas, 1969:15 quoting Heidegger, 1954:147). Heidegger, as Vycinas (1969:15) points out, goes on to draw together the words "dwelling" and "sparing" in a similar way as 'the tolerance of something in its own essence'. Relph (1976:18) also addresses this point, suggesting that Heidegger intones in "'sparing" - the tolerance of something for itself without trying to change it or control it' - a notion he argues is often lost as space is 'molded, created, and possessed by the very act of building'. Relph (1976) and Buchanan and Lambert (2005) all suggest that Heidegger's later work evolved and became more explicit, implying that perhaps this is because he addresses more everyday objects.

Inauthenticity is the final concept from Heidegger worth exploring. His thinking becomes useful when located in the discussions on Eurocentrism and the international politico-economic trends influencing urban development, in the introduction to this chapter, and in the previous chapter. Heidegger (1962:127) suggests that inauthenticity is the 'real dictatorship of the "They"...We take pleasure...as *they* (man) take pleasure; we read, see and judge about literature and art as *they* see and judge...we find shocking what *they* find shocking'. Relph

(1976:84 citing Heidegger, 1962) explains that 'Heidegger takes pains to stress that inauthenticity is of *no lower order* than authenticity - it is simply a *different* order'. However, Polt (2006) suggests that "inauthenticity" does imply a stagnation in Being. Relph (1976:84) goes on to comment on the concept of inauthenticity in the context of place, arguing that it translates into 'placeless geography, lacking both diverse landscapes and significant places'.

This is of interest if taken in parallel to Schlyter's (1981) research on the upgrading of George, Zambia discussed in Chapter 02. As was pointed out in that discussion, given the choice for the greenfield section of the upgrade, residents repeatedly requested the development pattern of houses on a grid; in other words, what "they" have. Schlyter (1981:44) explains that residents' 'aspirations for a better life were very closely tied to conceptions of modernity'. Worth noting is that her study follow-up that showed reduced social interaction in the areas where this pattern was implemented, which aligns with Relph's (1976) implied consequences of placelessness. Ivan Vladislavić's (2004:6) *The Exploded View*, which explores the concept of borrowed aesthetic, or in Heidegger's words "their" aesthetic, in the context of contemporary Johannesburg is further evidence of this phenomenon. His protagonist, Budlender, a traveling statistician for the national census, arrives at a new subdivision in the outskirts of the city and reflects that 'The boundaries of Johannesburg are drifting away...the city fades momentarily into the veld...a strange sensation had come over him...at the gates of Villa Toscana, a dreamlike blend of familiarity and displacement'. These examples are in line with Relph (1976) and Bolt's (2006) suggestion that humanity tends toward the inauthentic, in other words, most people do what they see others doing without thinking too much about it. Even in the face of Heidegger's insistence that inauthenticity is not a 'lower order', it is hard not to judge the 'stereotyped, artificial, dishonest, planned by others' in a negative light (Relph, 1976:80).

In the early part of the 20th Century, these newly translated concepts of Heidegger, as well as those of Karl Marx, proved influential on the next generation of thinkers. Harvey (1991) comments that these thinkers rebelled against the strict *a priori* thinking of the contemporary philosophical establishment, instead believing in the

need to include the revolutions occurring in the arts and sciences as well as the realities of peoples' daily existence into their thoughts. Among those influenced was Henri Lefebvre (1901-1999). Harvey goes on to suggest further influences on Lefebvre's later theoretical path, such as his contemporaries in the *avant-garde* and surrealist movements, as well as the content and method (historical materialist and dialectic) of Marx's writing. Marx's flowing dialectic style is exemplified in his argument that commodities are '*processes which appear in the form of things*'. Merrifield (1993:520) suggests that Lefebvre's 'production of space' thesis is a 'spatialized rendition' of this notion, making use of Marx's dialectic style and his concept of fetishism. Similarly, Gottdiener (1993) suggests that Marx's method influences Lefebvre's methodology on space, explaining that 'to Lefebvre, dialectical moments are expressed as "triplicate", as three terms rather than two. The third term instantly deconstructs static oppositions or dualisms and adds a fluid dimension to social process'. In doing this, Lefebvre not only tips his hat to the complexity of space, thus setting the tone for fertile discussion rather than reductionism (*Ibid.*); but, as Merrifield (1993) points out, he also, like Heidegger, avoids setting up a binary comparison between space as thing and process.

Lefebvre (1991:38-9) developed his spatial methodology into the concepts of 'spatial practice', 'representations of space', and 'representational spaces', or the perceived-conceived-lived triad. Jenlink (2007:434) suggests that 'it is within and through these three perspectives of space that we understand how spatial practices and discourses work'. In this study's discussion on place, it is Lefebvre's views on representational space that are of most interest. This is the realm of lived space, which examines how the actors interact with their environment by embracing the textures, smells, and sounds; in other words, the places of everyday life. Stillerman (2006:509) describes 'representational spaces...as lived in, used, inhabited, and symbolically understood'. Lefebvre (1991:42) states that 'Representational space is alive: it speaks. It implies that it has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or square, church, graveyard. It embraces the *loci* of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time' (*ibid.*:42). In this way, like Heidegger's, his theory incorporates the lenses of both time and space.

Of interest to this study is the link that Shields (2004:281) suggests between this mode of understanding space and a “lived space” (“*le vecu*”) of the imagination which has been kept alive and accessible by the arts and literature’, and which has the power to ‘refigure’ one’s interpretation of lived space. In other words, this adds the element of aesthetic preconception, which again parallels the concept of Shklovskij (1965). He goes on to say that Lefebvre refers to Dada, Magritte and other members of the surrealist movement ‘as examples challenging taken-for-granted understandings and practices of space’ (*ibid.*:281). However, Lefebvre (1991:90) suggests that in spite of this ‘we fall into the trap of treating space as space “in itself”’. In other words, we do not look beyond the material at what is really producing space, which to him is ‘the private ownership of the means of production and the social character of the productive forces’, instead ‘We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishize space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities...to consider “things” in isolation, as “things in themselves”’. This is significant, as the discussion will go on to show, because it suggests a means to reveal the spatial and temporal elements of the ‘material processes, namely real human activities’ (Merrifield, 1993:520) that produce informal space rather than perceiving “settlements in themselves”.

Given this, of particular interest is Lefebvre’s concept of “moment”. Harvey (1991:429) paraphrases this ‘as fleeting but decisive sensations (of delight, surrender, disgust, surprise, horror, or outrage) which [are] somehow revelatory of the totality of possibilities contained in daily existence’. In keeping with Lefebvre’s inseparability of space as product and as process, Merrifield (1993:522) also elaborates on the idea of “moment”, except in this case he situates it in the dynamics of capitalism: ‘basic social practices - consumption, enjoyment...self-identification... social support...are lived out...[as] a moment of capitalist space, place is where everyday life is *situated*’. Lefebvre (1991) himself lays out the example of parking lots versus parks, stating that in the realm of capital, parking lots produce a capital surplus, while parks are non-productive. This, he explains, sets up a clash, ‘it is a clash...between capitalist “utilizers” and community “users”’ (*ibid.*:359-60). It is worth pausing here to note the similarity between this example and that of South Africa’s shift from need-based to market driven policy discussed in Chapter 03. Shields

(2004:282) infers that 'The core of Lefebvre's humanism is his critique of the alienating conditions of everyday life...as a critique of the alienation and false consciousness of...popular and consumer culture'. He goes on to emphasise, as Harvey (1991) does, that this underlines the importance of the "moment" 'against the banality of the "*metro-boulot-dodo*" (subway-work-sleep) life of the suburban commuter' noting that 'Lefebvre proposes that we seize and act on all "moments" of revelation, emotional clarity and self-presence' (Shields, 2004:283). These concepts set up a parallel dynamic to Heidegger's use of the inauthentic in Being.

However, Shields (2004:283) goes on to comment that a 'Reliance on the dialectic has been surpassed by theories of alterity as complexity rather than contradiction or negation'. He suggests that Lefebvre's theories fall short of fully illuminating the consequences of the relationships between cultural, ethnic and to some extent hegemonic groups in socio-spaces, thus inferring a lack of address to discrimination and the 'insider and outsider' dynamic (*ibid.*). Buchanan and Lambert (2005:3) also imply this in their statement that 'Lefebvre and Heidegger stand on the cusp of this seismic shift of sensibility...neither were willing to consider the possibility of spaces that were constitutively uninhabitable'.

The thinking on the other side of this shift is exemplified by the French philosophers Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Buchanan (2005:16) place them in the context of Lefebvre's work,

'Henri Lefebvre drew together two concepts that have effectively been inseparable ever since in studies of the human environment, namely space and every day life...In the half-century since, a number of scholars have followed Lefebvre...Deleuze and Guattari are sometimes taken to be part of this lineage...but their fit is never an easy one...but by pathologising the everyday in the way they do, Deleuze and Guattari stand apart from the majority of theorists interested in the nexus between the everyday and the built environment who are, for the most part, not even prepared to use term like schizophrenia as a metaphor'.

The relevance of this metaphor of schizophrenia between everyday life and the built environment in the context of urban South Africa will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters but meanwhile it is summed up in du Plessis's (2008) comment that South Africa's current climate of political schizophrenia has the potential to cause social and physical disintegration in urban informal communities.

Giles Deleuze (1925-1995) was educated at the Sorbonne in the 1940s where "He

and his fellow students were steeped in the rationalist tradition, introduced to the rigours of Hegel, Husserl and early Heidegger, and trained to regard the history of philosophy as the essential foundation of their discipline' (Bogue, 1989:1-2). After leaving school Deleuze was influenced by Nietzsche

'to a large extent because Nietzsche offered Deleuze an alternative to the Hegelianism that so permeated French thought during the 1940s and 1950s...To Deleuze...the Hegelian dialectic only *seemed* to engage the non-rational...based ultimately on a logic of identity, within which the non-rational "other" could only be conceived of as the shadow of the rational "same". What was needed...was a philosophy of difference as difference, irreducible to the concepts of identity and representation. Deleuze found the inspiration for such philosophy in Nietzsche' (*ibid.*, 1989:2).

In addition, Rajchman (2000:5) suggests that Deleuze wanted to move away from the Kantian philosophical approach of 'judge at the tribunal of reason'. To this end, Deleuze 'depart[ed] from a "common sense", logical, moral, aesthetic', turning to what Rajchman (2000:7) describes as a philosophy of connections putting 'experimentation before ontology, "And" before "Is"'. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) introduce their concept of connections using the analogy of a rhizome as opposed to a tree, in other words: the multiplicity of connection versus the singularity of a fixed point. They argue that in a societal context a rhizome has the ability to 'ceaselessly [establish] connections between semiotic chains, organisations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles' (*ibid.*:7). Their interest in the concept of multiplicity (rhizome) centres around several points, one is its ability to subvert the power of subject and object, replacing it with 'determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions that cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing in nature' (*ibid.*:8). They go on to state that a tree represents a point while a rhizome represents a line. Rajchman (2009:9) suggests that it is with this in mind that they suggest a 'kind of uncoded diagram' emerging through the intersection of these lines. He goes on to explain that these intersections are what Deleuze and Guattari come to call 'disjunctive synthesis', in other words, an inclusive connecting of seemingly unrelated or non-connectable things or ideas (*ibid.*:56). They argue that this mechanism of connection or "and" becomes the 'logical operator' (*ibid.*:56). This is interesting to consider in terms of a mechanism for the system of social connections in Simone's (2004) concept of 'people as infrastructure' as discussed in Chapter 02. Further, Rajchman (2000) paraphrasing Deleuze suggests that this replacement of "is" with "and" changes the logical coherence from the statement X is Y to the relationship of X and Y, making it fundamentally different.

Rajchman (2000) goes on to say that Deleuze's argument is to move 'away from a sociology based on distinctions' and to produce spaces 'in which we relate to ourselves and one another in a manner not subordinated to identity or identification' (*ibid.*:82). Included in this is the identification of social classes, which begins to speak to the idea of the right of all to the city and therefore is of particular interest in the context of South Africa. This harks back to the discussion in Chapter 02, where Roy (2004) and Doherty and Silva (2011), among others, point to the problematic underlying issue facing informality: how it is perceived or identified by outside actors. Rajchman (2000) suggests that Deleuze's mechanistic notion begins to erase the identities of insiders/outsideers, and a logical extension of this could be the concept of formal/informal. Also key to 'disjunctive synthesis' is Deleuze's belief that the character of the resultant multiplicity is such that it cannot be reduced or generalised into a theory or logic of simplicity (*ibid.*). And again if we look back to the discussion of informality in Chapter 02, we see a parallel to the issue of reductionism. Holston and Caldeira (2008) malign the term "slum" for its reducing and homogenising implications; and likewise Doherty and Silva (2011) condemn the formal/informal development model as it discounts rather than embraces complexity. Rajchman (2000:56) points out that integral to this concept is the use of "and" as opposed to "is", which implies a shift in power from determination's 'prediction or identity' to inclusion.

Doel and Clarke (2004:105-06) infer that what sets Deleuze apart from earlier thinkers is his non-dialectic approach,

'Deleuze created an extraordinary form of geo-philosophy that proffers events for everyone. Not only does this non-representational geo-philosophy provide an innovative basis for rethinking the nature of space and place, it is also a fully fledged "thinking space" in its own right: not an abstract space for thought...but a concrete space of thought'.

Like Heidegger, Deleuze's rejection of the European philosophy of his day was largely in response to Hegel's systemisation of the relationship between subject and object. Bogue (1989) suggests that there are also parallels between Heidegger's concepts of Being and inauthenticity, and Deleuze's explorations of deconstructivism and difference. He infers that both of these thinkers drew from Nietzschean concepts and challenged 'the representational model of thought, and both found in difference (or *difference*) an "aconceptual concept" or "non-concept" that undermined the

certainties of Western rationality' (*ibid.*:3). In this same vein, Bogue (1989:154) goes on to paraphrase Deleuze, stating that 'all thought presupposes evaluation and interpretation...that all truth is created rather than discovered', which he comments is derived from Nietzsche's concepts of perspectivism and aestheticism. Again we see a return to Shklovskij's (1965) theory of aesthetic device and the notion of how we discern things.

Rajchman (2000:85) describes another similarity of thought between these philosophers. He describes Deleuze's understanding of "moments", to borrow Lefebvre's term, as "individuations" or 'bits of a narrative that can't be fit into a nice narrative unity'. Rajachman (2000:86 quoting Foucault, 1980:11) goes on to suggest that Deleuze uses Foucault's '*déprise de soi* (a withdrawal from oneself) to 'free difference from...the practices of recognition or identification within which we are caught'. In other words, it frees the viewer to see and act on other options or opportunities, which is an interesting thought in light of informal livelihoods. Doel and Clarke (2004:106) insist that Deleuze's legacy is how we perceive and interact with spaces:

'The enlivenment of our surroundings - which is sometimes called vitalism, nomadism, materialism or immanence - is perhaps Deleuze's greatest gift to geography...Deleuze can help us to desist from stilling life, to become sensitive to the vivacity of space, and to create new spaces for life and new ways of being. Most of all he can help us to become worthy of the specificity of geography: enabling the event of space to take place'.

In these descriptions, the legacy of Heidegger's "Being" and Lefebvre's "moment" are evident but it is the final 'enabling the event of space to take place', as will be shown as the discussion goes on, that is the step across the shift of sensibility to which Buchanan and Lambert (2005) inferred. Of use in the context of this study is to draw from the comment, 'Deleuze can help us to desist from stilling life, to become sensitive to the vivacity of space', for this is what is needed in the evaluation and response to informal settlement.

Much of Deleuze's work was done in collaboration with the French political activist, philosopher, and psychotherapist Felix Guattari (1930-1992) who was positioned outside the academic tradition of philosophy. Bogue (1989:4) suggests that Guattari brought 'the political focus of *Anti-Oedipus*, and in particular its concern with the interrelation and interpenetration of the social and psychological spheres of

experience' to their work. He goes on to describes the main thrust of Guattari's work as 'the relationship between psychological repression and social oppression...the study of power relations in institutions...[and] institutional forms of oppression'. Given the discussion in the previous chapter (Fanon, 1961/2004; Biko, 1978/2002), a relevance to the post-colonial context is suggested.

One of their best known collaborative efforts is *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. The chapters *The Treatise on Nomadology* and *Of The Refrain* introduce Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of nomadism, or surrounding, through the concepts of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory as mechanisms to understand space. Janz (2002:3) explains that 'Deleuze and Guattari use the term "geophilosophy" for a philosophy of the earth, one that recognises the ebb and flow of life', suggesting that daily use and interaction with a place continually re-forms it. Given their theory, Wise (2000:295) comments that habits becoming the rhythms of place: 'Identity is grounded in habit; the repetition of action and thought establishes home'. Janz (2002:6) expands on this further: 'When we are at home, we have a set of rhythms that define a place as home, and in fact when we are away from home, we often find ourselves setting up familiar rhythms to make a new place into home'.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987:349) describe refrain as 'the rhythm and melody that have been territorialised because they become expressive - and have become expressive because they are territorialising'. In other words, as Wise (2000:302) puts it, 'the pattern of sound, of light, of meaning that constructs space'. He goes on to say that 'The centrality of the refrain points to the importance of sound in the construction of space, and orality in the construction of identity, home, and everyday life' (*ibid.*:302). This is an interesting parallel to the discussions in Chapters 01 and 02 on how urban space can be characterised by sound. Janz (2002:6) further explains the concept of refrain as 'a song that organises and fends off chaos, that draws from the earth a set of contingent meanings that lead to identity'. It is this 'concept of refrain and of nomadic philosophy' that he suggests 'give[s] us a clue to a way to rethink African philosophy' (*ibid.*:2002:2). The continual "refreshing" of place through territorialisation, deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation occurs because the refrain or the 'reflective habits that show us for who we are, continually re-think

our place [and] re-configure it to be adequate for the times' (*ibid.*:4). This implies that different scales of space, such as home, house, neighbourhood, reflect our personal behaviour patterns. This is a shift from Relph's (1976) discussion on mobility and place, where he suggests that similarities in the landscape are the cues that reestablish attachments to new places.

For Deleuze and Guittari, (1987) it is not the landscape, but people's habitual actions that establish place. They define the character of space in an environment or *milieu* by repetitious changes. In this way of thinking, at any given moment there are multiple *milieus* changing, overlapping and interacting with each other. Wise (2000:297) explains this as: 'The marker (wall, road, line, border, post, sign) is static, dull and cold. But when lived (encountered, manipulated, touched, voiced, glanced at, practiced) it radiates a milieu, a field of force, a shape of space'. Janz (2002:6) articulates this further, '*milieu* is a codification of repetitions, a limitation and rhythmatisation on the chaos'. Scaling up, multiple *milieus* make up a territory. Wise (2000:298 quoting Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:315) clarifies this, a territory has a more defined edge and 'is an accretion of *milieu* effects. Each *milieu* affects the space, bends it, inflects it, shapes it. Compound these effects, but then make these effects expressive rather than functional: the resultant space is territory'. In other words, it is the consequence of how we continually react to and are affected by the landscape and built form around us. Janz (2002) makes the key point that what separates these concepts from Structurationism is that none of them are ever fixed in time or space. He explains that this is articulated through the notion of the nomad, who 'continually deterritorialises, in that this person re-produces the environment at the same time as he or she is produced by it. The nomad "make[s] the desert no less than they are made by it" (Janz, 2002:6 quoting Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:382). These elements rhythm, refrain, *milieu*, and territory are the language that Deleuze and Guattari use to describe the continuous cycle (formed, altered, dissolved and re-formed) that is place.

Time as an element of spatial understanding has been evident throughout this section. Heidegger's notion of dwelling is based largely on historical attachment to place, something he observed in residents of the Black Forest (Vycinas, 1969;

Relf, 1976; Buchanan and Lambert, 2005). Similarly, as has been shown, Lefebvre's (1991) theory on place as understood with his concepts of "moment" and representational space are also rooted in history. However, Rajchman (2000) suggests that Deleuze and Guattari are interested in the idea of time as an element of space, beyond history; because with history there is moral characterisation or *ethos*. This is important to them because of its implication on spatial boundaries (*ibid.*). Rajchman (2000:94) suggests that they understand living environments as "manners of being"...and their distribution in space and time'. This questions the accepted concepts of boundary and territory with the same mode of non-Kantian thought as the discussion on "is" versus "and" above. Deleuze and Guattari's analogy of tree to rhizome gets us to think differently and much more universally about the character of connections in space. Rajchman (2000) suggests that they use this relational concept and its role within their mechanism of territorialisation/deterritorialisation as a way of understanding how people relate to space when it is not defined by societal history.

Some scholars (Giddens, 1990; Jameson, 1991) question the distancing of humanity from history; Buchanan (2005:17) comments on this dynamic as a 'Disorientation brought on by the disembedding process'. However, Buchanan (2005) goes on to suggest that today everyday life is in fact impacted more by globalisation than history. They argue that the food we eat, the clothes we wear, and the design of the spaces we live in are a result of the globalisation. They conclude that 'Deleuze and Guattari's claim that the schizo lives history, but has in a sense lost the luxury of the distance of historicity, can be seen as an important advance in thinking about space and everyday life' (*ibid.*:17). Deleuze and Guattari's thinking adds an interesting light to this study's African and informal contexts because of the socio-spatial invisibility of the subaltern in colonial history, as was described in Chapter 02. It is worth thinking back to Mbembe's (2000) ideas on the relative and transient nature of pre-colonial territorial boundary in Chapter 02. These notions also have potential for clarifying an understanding of the impermanence of informal space and the perceived formal/informal boundaries in the urban landscape.

A final input into this discussion on place and informality is Pierre Bourdieu's notion

of *habitus*. Wacquant (2006:7) suggests that Bourdieu's work is characterised both by influences from the past and the actions of the present, stating that it is a 'mediation between past influences and present stimuli, *habitus* is at once structured, by the patterned social forces that produced it, and structuring: it gives form and coherence to the various activities of an individual across the separate spheres of life'. In this way one could perhaps argue that it is located somewhere amidst the historical disparity of the theories discussed above. Despite some views that find it 'too 1960s, too limited to the French social structure and too static' (Bridge, 2004:62), Hillier and Rooksby (2005a:15) argue that 'the notion [of] *habitus* is very much alive'. In fact, Wacquant (2006:1-2) describes Bourdieu's work as,

'an activist science, impervious to ideological bias yet attuned to the burning sociopolitical issues of its day and responsive to the ethical dilemmas these entail...translating the grand questions of classical philosophy and social theory into precise empirical experiments'.

Hillier and Rooksby (2005a:6,7 citing Robbins, 2000) point out that 'Bourdieu arrived at the idea that people possess an inherited experiential concept of society which they then modify for themselves, thereby each generating new concepts appropriate for their respective circumstances'; in this way it loosely parallels the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari. Also of importance, Hillier and Rooksby's (2005b:21) point to the methodological significance of Bourdieu's 'distinction between synoptic and participatory views of activity' in understanding 'a sense of one's (and others') place and role in the world of one's lived environment' (*ibid.*:21).

This section's discussion reflected the 20th century's evolution of thought around space and place through the inclusion of everyday. Although ideological shifts were evidenced, this concept proved consistent. What was not consistent was the role of history in our understanding of space and boundaries. Deleuze and Guattari's notion of place without the confines of a societal legacy contrasted Heidegger and Lefebvre's more historically rooted concepts. This rethinking of boundary will be useful in understanding the urban formal/informal spatial relationship. Of further interest to this study is Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) spatial language of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory as a potential methodological tool to interpret informal socio-spatial development.

section04.2 Power structures and informal housing environments

This section explores how power influences the development patterns of urban spaces. The discussion begins with Foucault's suggestion of the embeddedness of institutional power in individual action. This is picked up by Lefebvre's assertion that the technocratic production of space has become an avenue through which power influences spatial production. These concepts are drawn together with an analysis of Deleuze and Guattari's use of an analogy between spatial functionality and power games.

The thinking on space and space production in the later half of the 20th Century has been greatly influenced by Michel Foucault's (1980, 1984, 1986, 1990) concepts related to the essence of power as it impacts our society. His areas of study are broad; therefore, given the scope of this study, the focus will be on his work related to space. Rabinow (1984:6) pinpoints one aspect of Foucault's work that is of use to this study: his rejection of social and political models as is the practice in the West, which have 'left us almost totally in the dark' in understanding the impact of politics *vis-à-vis* power in our society. This speaks to the discussion in Chapter 01, questioning the use of Eurocentric models in other socio-geographic contexts (Mufti, 2005; Dikeç, 2010). Instead, Foucault concentrates on the relational impact of power:

'People have often reproached me for these spatial obsessions...But [when] I think through them I did come to what I had basically been looking for: the relations that are possible between power and knowledge. Once knowledge can be analysed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power' (Foucault, 1980:69).

He underlines the importance of bringing together concepts that are often thought about independently, 'it is somewhat arbitrary to try to dissociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand' (Foucault, 1984:246). To this end, he does not look at power in and of itself, but instead insists on the need to ask questions about how power operates and how it influences our society, saying that only then will we begin to understand its impact on the ground (*ibid.*).

Healey (2003:106) comments on Foucault's belief in the invasiveness of power in human existence a being useful in understanding the workings of embedded power:

'power is embodied not just in the energy and position of individuals with command over specific rules and resources but is instantiated in the way people embody assumptions about appropriate ways of thinking and acting in their daily discourses and practices and how these in turn may become embedded in institutionalised practices'.

This harks back to Roy's (2004) comments on how personal (embedded) aesthetic and perspective from design and planning professionals can impact development initiatives. For Healey (2003), this reference to Foucault's concept of power relations is the starting point for her thoughts on how stakeholders can think about this issue. She goes on to draw from Giddens's structuration theory (in which institutions and their ability to alter social patterns play a significant role), pointing to the 'qualities of interaction relations' and the 'fine grain of interaction' between actors themselves, and between actors and institutional power. It is here that Healey (2003), pulling from the ideas of Giddens, Foucault and others, suggests that not only is there value in understanding habitual social action, but also in understanding how institutional power has, by chance and design, been embedded into these actions. Further, Deleuze (Foucault and Deleuze, 1972:8) comment that 'investments of desire mold and distribute power', thus inferring that power is driven by individuals' desire for things - consumption *vis-à-vis* capital. This socio-relational ideology draws a interesting link back to Deleuze and Guattari's language of place production in the previous section, and to Mbembe's (2000, 2001b) and Simone's (2004) ideas regarding the role of social relations in the arena of informality and livelihood efforts in Chapter 02.

Gottdiener (1993) points out that the idea of embedded institutional power runs through the work of Lefebvre (1991) as well, and that like Foucault, Lefebvre's concept of representational space recognises the relationship between knowledge and power. Mugavin's (1999:98-9) statement that Lefebvre's 'representations of space encapsulate knowledge and ideology' emphasised this. Lefebvre (1991), like Roy's later work (2004), expresses concern over the power of embedded ideology in how space is conceived; in other words, the work of the architects, planners, urbanists, developers and engineers: the technocrats. Further Lefebvre (1991) considers the driving force behind the technocrats, what Gottdiener (1993:131) refers to as 'a conceptual model used to direct practice'. He goes on to suggests that

'Lefebvre makes a brilliant contribution to our understanding of the state. His thinking is particularly pertinent when he analyses the relation between power and space...Space is not only homogenised and fragmented but also hierarchical and a framework of power' (*ibid.*:133). Stillerman (2006) suggests that this power is the influence of government policy, government will, and capital.

However, unlike Foucault, Lefebvre believes that there is a relationship between power and dominated space. Driver (1985) asserts that for Foucault 'Space is a vital part of the battle for control...not a question of domination'. In contrast, Lefebvre (1991:358) states that 'power...is omnipresent' through dominated space. He illustrates this:

'Dominated space realises military and political (strategic) "models" in the field...practical space [becomes] the bearer of norms and constraints...it proceeds to repress in the name of power...It is an essentially deceptive space, readily occupiable by pretenses such as those of civic peace, consensus, or the reign of non-violence' (*ibid.*:358).

If we go back to Lefebvre's (1991) example of the parking lots versus the parks and look at it through the lens of power, we see that space is dominated as a result of its potential for the production of surplus capital. Similarly, Harvey (2008) gives an early example of this domination of space through politico-economic agenda in the realm of the capital/labour surplus dynamic. He suggests that in 1848 Paris 'Haussmann clearly understood that his mission was to help solve the surplus-capital and unemployment problem through...debt-financed infrastructural urban improvements' (*ibid.*:25-6). Considering this example with the discussions in the previous chapters, it becomes clear that global institutions, through the insistence of politico-economic practices and development norms have, even if indirectly, the power to dominate local space and space production. Harvey's Marxist geography has served to convince many that space and place are significant in the dialogue on capitalism. Recently, however, Harvey has been criticised by some for his emphatic beliefs on the power of capital (Castree, 2004). Bringing this discussion into the context of Africa, Watson's (2002:46) review of neoliberal policies on the continent finds that, 'Modernism, in either its capitalist or socialist forms, has not served Africa well, or at least very unevenly, and neoliberal development philosophies promoted through structural adjustment policies have been downright destructive'. Harrison's (2006:321-322) insight into the influence of power in the African experience adds to this: 'Foucault's concept of *realrationalität* (or real-life rationality) shows how choices

are actually constructed and defended within particular constructs of power, rather than what should be done to meet the criteria of an idealised normative rationality’.

Deleuze and Guattari (1986) use the tactical games of Chess and Go⁷ as an analogical framework to explore these types of relational power/space dynamics. To this end, Janz (2002) and Buchanan and Lambert (2005) describe Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987:474) methodology, which characterises ‘smooth and striated space...nomad space and sedentary space’ thus identifying those which ‘are not of the same nature’, with the understanding that any composition of these designations should be understood as a mixture not a dualism. Further, it is acknowledged that the basis of these designations is power. On the one hand, “striated” space is chess, a game of State with pieces that have ‘intrinsic properties from which their movements, situations and confrontations derive’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986:3). Each piece is controlled by the player but must relate tactics and to opponent pieces, thus forming a structured environment that codes and decodes as they move, creating a ‘*milieu* of interiority’ (*ibid.*). On the other hand, “smooth” space is Go with pieces that are ‘pellets, disks, simple arithmetic units and have only an anonymous, collective or third person function’ (*ibid.*:3). Their movement is an insertion or situational functionality and is relational as opposed to structural, thus resulting in a ‘*milieu* of exteriority’ and continuous territorialisation and deterritorialisation (*ibid.*). Janz (2002) suggests that this game analogy shows ‘the relation between the pieces and the kind of space they create’, thus effectively illustrating how power dynamics influence spatial production. Stretched further it helps to illuminate formal versus informal development.

This section has put forth two ways in which power influences the production of space. First, that individuals’ habitual, everyday actions (social and consumption) are influenced by institutionally embedded power. The second, that the dynamic of knowledge and power involves the dissemination of ideology (directly or indirectly) by technocrats in the process of conceiving and producing space. Deleuze and Guattari (1986, 1987) effectively illustrate how power influences spatial production

⁷ Go is an ancient Chinese game with two colored pieces (or stones) and played by two people. Various strategies are used to occupy and surround territories on the board.

through their game analogy. However assuming the two power influences just identified, one feels the need to question whether the ‘anonymous, collective or third person function[s]’ of Go can exist. Foucault (1980, 1984) and Deleuze (Foucault and Deleuze, 1972) assert that in order to bring about real spatial change to the urban environment, questions must be asked about the often indirect, particularised sources of power, rather than of the more easily accessible consequences of that power. Implied is an indirect source of power coming to bear on urban development, argued to be fuelled by capital (Harvey, 2008). This power dynamic points toward the discussion in the next section around residents’ right to the city and raises the question: is the embedded power undermining these rights?

section04.3 Urban citizens and their right to the city

Beginning in the late 1960s in France, Lefebvre’s concept of ‘the right to the city’ has enjoyed increasing readership. Its relevance became more apparent in the decades to follow, beginning in the mid-1970s with the conflicting atmospheres of neo-Marxism and Neoliberalism. Neo-Marxism is an updating of many of the Marxist ideals, with the inclusion of Max Weber’s notions of social justice, and is commonly used in discussion of post-colonial societies to underline the existing inequities. Conversely, as has been discussed in previous chapters, Neoliberalism advocates low taxes and wealth generation through free markets and private sector spending while discouraging taxation and state spending on social support structures. Paralleling the neoliberal trend is urban competitiveness. Huchzermeyer (2011) makes a compelling argument that the normative practices of urban competitiveness are incompatible with urban citizens’ rights to the city, particularly those of the poor. In the context of South Africa this could be seen in the run-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup when, as McDougal (2010) brought to light, all levels of South African government viewed urban informal settlements as pockmarks on the face of the country’s global image. It is these attitudes and their consequences of “slum” clearing that lead Huchzermeyer (2011), among others, to call for more egalitarian cities. This section discusses the thinking around the idea of urban citizenship and the right to the city and then looks at whether the State erodes citizens’ right to the city through the manipulation of embedded institutional power as was discussed in the previous section.

Lefebvre's thoughts on spatial need versus desire are of interest in the discussion on urban competitiveness and right to the city. Harvey (2008) suggests that Lefebvre's focus on the dynamic of need further elucidates the relationship between power and consumption, and by extension the exclusion of poorer urban dwellers. This is inferred in Lefebvre's (1991:353) comment that 'urbanites...clamour[ing] for a certain "quality of space"' commodify spatial production through demand. Harvey (2008), having taken up Lefebvre's pennant of peoples' right to a city, builds on it. He states that the 'global urbanisation boom [which] has depended, as all the others did before it on the construction of new financial institutions and arrangements to organise the credit required to sustain it' (*ibid.* quoting Zukin:30-1) has resulted in a commodification of urban life or "pacification by cappuccino". He warns that this socio-economic relationship passes the ownership of the city from the people to the political economy. In other word pacification which begets silence; and which Lefebvre (1996) argued prevents meaningful change.

Harvey's (2008) comment on commodification suggests a conflict between need and desire (Lefebvre, 1996). This begs the question: What is need? It is therefore important to take the time here to articulate what Lefebvre means by "need" in the context of a right to the city. To this end, he argues that 'specific needs have specific objects', where as 'desire...has no particular object' (1991:353). He goes on to say that 'social needs have an anthropological foundation', which he defines as: 'the need for security and opening...for certainty and adventure...[the] organisation of work and play...the predictable and the unpredictable, of similarity and difference, of isolation and encounter...of independence...and communication of immediate and long-term prospects' (Lefebvre, 1996:147). Building on this, he stresses that all humans have the need 'to see, to hear, to touch, to taste...and the need to gather these perceptions in a "world"' (*ibid.*:147). Harvey (2012:x) describes the tone of Lefebvre's seminal essay on peoples' rights, and by extension needs, as 'both a cry and a demand'. He suggests that the 'cry' draws attention to 'a withering crisis of everyday life in the city' and the 'demand' calls for 'an alternative urban life that is less alienated, more meaningful and playful' (*ibid.*:x). This infers that the city is, for Lefebvre, an *oeuvre* filled with needs that are often incompatible with current urban hierarchically-based strategies. In this light we see the parallel to Huchzermeyer's

(2011) concerns about the current normative strategies of urban competitiveness, in which the needs of the city's most vulnerable often go unmet; and to the discussion on the invisibility of the subaltern in Chapter 02.

This incompatibility raises the question of how socio-spatial development can respond to need. Friedmann and Douglass (1998) speak to this through their connection between need and the ability to flourish. However, they then take the idea into the arena of urban planning. Given the earlier conversation on technocratic responses and embedded institutional power, it is in the interest of this study to look at the connection between need and flourish in a different light. To this end, the words of Thomas Jefferson (1776): 'Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness' reflecting the American colonies' demand for significant, collective change from the State are of use. The inclusion of 'the pursuit of Happiness' implies an empowering of the people. In the context of this study, Appadurai's (2004, 2007, 2010) concept of peoples' need for the 'capacity to aspire' is of interest. He describes this as a 'navigational capacity, unequally distributed among wealthier and poorer communities, that allows people to make their way from more proximate needs to more distant aspirational worlds...[its] deficit being virtually the hallmark of poverty' (Appadurai, 2010:9). In this same vein Simone (2005:38) singles out 'the right to pursue aspirations' in his essay on the right to the city. In the discussions in Chapter 02 on informality, Simone's (2004) bottom up urban development strategy of 'people as infrastructure' described a method of the poor giving voice and action to their needs through social relationships. In his later paper (Simone, 2005:38) he expands on this concept as 'the right to pursue aspirations', arguing, like Lefebvre, that 'the right to the city cannot be reduced to the right to be maintained in the city'. He makes the point that the examination of aspiration combines both space and even more fundamentally, time. In other words, in responding to need people require space, or housing, but they also require a temporal framework in which 'to acquire the experience and capacity for a confident self-fashioning' (*ibid.*:40). To this end, Simone (2005:40) reflects on the notions of Fanon, stating that 'time lost in allowing people to find their own vernaculars and practices for realising themselves as creator of life, and not just consumers or victims of it, is recuperated in the advent of real collective change'. In Fanon's (1961/2004:135) own words, 'even if it takes twice or

three times as long...people must know where they are going and why’.

This parallels Harvey’s (2008:23) view that ‘The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is...one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights’. He goes on to assert that the right to the city is ‘a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation’ (2008:23). Further, he suggests that this change requires the examination of bigger questions: ‘what kind of people we want to be, what kinds of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold’ (2012:4 citing Parks, 1967). Facing these questions, he summarises, is claiming the ‘shaping power’ of urbanisation and this, he claims, is the essence of one’s right to the city (*ibid.*:5).

It is useful to turn with Harvey’s list of questions to the context of post-colonial Africa. Fanon (1961/2004:8) suggested that, during the transition from colonial to post-colonial the ‘colonialised masses thumb their noses at [the colonial] values, shower them with insults and vomit them up’. He further warns against contact between the ‘colonialist bourgeoisie...and the colonised “elite”’, predicting that for the masses this will bring about the exchange of one form of oppression for another (*ibid.*:9). Mbembe (2001b:102) underlines this by pointing out that post-colonial implies a specific trajectory of change and an emergence from the ‘violence...[of] colonial relationships’. He goes on to imply that post-colonial character is such that often the newly emerged state, through its corporate and political machinery, effectively replaces one brand of violence for another (*ibid.*). He argues that this is done by government coding of the ‘logics that underlie...meanings within that society’ and by ‘institutionalis[ing] this world of meanings...by instilling it in the minds of the cibles’⁸. This is reminiscent of the Deleuze and Guattari’s analogy and begins to illuminate the sources of power in spatial development. The implication would seem to be that the State, not the people, is answering Harvey’s questions; and therefore the State is holding the ‘shaping power’ of the cities, and controlling the rights to the city.

⁸ Mbembe borrows this term from Foucault, M. (1989) *La Gouvernementalité*, *Magazine Littéraire*, 269. Cibles are defined as target subjects.

This section has attempted to define the essence of right to the city, based primarily on the concepts of Lefebvre (1991, 1996) but also on the interpretation of his thoughts by others. This seemingly broad notion has been distilled to the idea that the right to the city equates to the power to shape the city. This dynamic is relevant because it decides whether urban development will originate from the top or the bottom. Fanon's (1961/2004) and Mbembe's (2001b) suggestions that post-colonial character tips the weight of power into the hands of the state has grave implications for post-colonial citizens and cities.

section 04.4 A summary of the illuminations, questions and speculations revealed in this exploration

This chapter's introduction discussed the problematic nature of bringing planning models from North America and Europe into the developing cities of the global South. Because of this, I intentionally shied away from planning theory, instead choosing to review the more fundamental work of philosophers and thinkers on space, place, power and the city. Specifically, I chose those thinkers who were interested in the inclusion of everyday life into the understanding of the production of space and place. The study was also interested in those who suggest the need to push urban development out of its current *status quo*. This section links the chapter's discussion to this point with the discourse on informality and politico-economic trends and normative influences in development from previous chapters in order to extract questions that will shape the study's fieldwork methodology. Those questions are:

- For Heidegger, 'all the acts of [hu]man, as [hu]man, are only his[/her] responses to Being. Through these responses [hu]man becomes [hu]man', this suggests that humans *are* their relation to Being. (Vycinas, 1969:3). Could the study extrapolate that informality *is* the urban poor responding to Being, it is their relationship to the city, thereby suggesting that relocation undermines the essence of the residents' place in the city?
- The idea of agency in subalternism discussed in Chapter 02 reveals more when considered side by side with Heidegger's concept of Being. Unlike Kant who judged things 'as determined by [human's] knowing power', Heidegger's consideration of Being implies 'human knowledge as knowing things absolutely

the way they are' (Vycinas, 1969:6). In a post-colonial context such as South Africa, must one then question the Marxist interpretation of agency: 'the same group of people are, and are not, a class depending on whether they have a consciousness of class' (Spivak, 2005:476)? As Pithouse (2012) points out in his discussion on the 'myth of the inherent inability of the urban poor to engage in emancipatory politics', the answer to this is likely imbedded in Fanon's contention that 'Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched...with the colonial problem' (Fanon, 1961:5). Assuming shack dwellers' capability of emancipatory political agency, as suggested by Pithouse (2012:5), then one must also 'take the actuality of subaltern urbanism seriously'. Pithouse goes on to highlight Roy's (2011) summation of two useful construals of subalternism in informal settlements, first 'as a site of entrepreneurialism', with the caveat that this is not top down entrepreneurialism, and second as 'a site of political agency' (Pithouse, 2012:7). The comments by Bonner *et al.* (2012) on the insurgent power of early informality (and one could argue current informality) cited in Chapter 03 echo this sentiment. Pithouse (2012:9) goes on to state that engaging this political agency is key to the recognition 'from within the academy...that the oppressed are as capable of reason and ethical action as anyone else'. How then, in a post-colonial era does this impact our understanding of agency and consequently the role of informal residents in urban development?

- Evidence from this chapter would seem to suggest that the notion of defamiliarisation, or the device that influences our understanding of the world around us, is entangled with how power influences spatial production. Heidegger (1962) describes authenticity as the essence of Being. He does not, however, dismiss or consider lower, inauthenticity, which he defines as the influence of "They" on our aesthetic values. In a similar vein, Vladislvić (2004) explores the concept of the borrowed aesthetic. Lefebvre (1996) includes aesthetic in his definition of human need in the context of the right to the city. And Deleuze and Guattari suggest that the human mind uses aesthetic as a means to fend off chaos (Rajchman, 2000). All of this speaks to our preconceptions and shines light on Relph's (1976) and Vladislvić's (2004) conjecture that aesthetic is a key element in sense of place. Is it then a means to understand the expectations of the various actors in the upgrading process? In other words, what the residents

think they want and why; as well as how design professionals and politicians see and hear this through the veil of their own, often institutionally embedded, power biases. This is further complicated by the ANC's virtual single party status in post-apartheid South Africa and informal residents' expectations of housing delivery going hand in hand with democratic inclusion (Pithouse, 2012).

- Heidegger suggested that to *dwell* means 'to live a concrete life, namely: to make a home on the earth, acquire food for the family, handle and use, build and cultivate things' (Vycinas, 1969:21). This concept becomes particularly interesting when considered in terms of shack dwellers who: occupy land; glean subsistence; build houses; and cultivate social and business relationships aimed at achieving meagre livelihoods. 'Cultivate' tends to be thought of in terms of the time and effort required to sow and reap agricultural products, but the type of social relationships that Fanon (1961/2004) and Simone (2004) refer to in the struggle for life and livelihood requires equal persistence. It is this form of cultivation that is most damaged through relocation. Further, in his discussion on dwelling, Heidegger uses the term 'sparing' to mean 'the tolerance of something for itself without trying to change it or control it'. What if this concept could be taken into consideration in the context of informal settlement and *in situ* upgrading; if preserving location and assuming an existing connection to place were to become an upgrading methodology, this could engage Relph's (1976:18) notion that Heidegger's spaces of dwelling 'have an order and a sense that can be experienced directly, yet which is infinitely variable'. This would then incorporate the 'infinitely variable' attribute, which allows informal settlement to adapt to its continually changing character and which is all too often lost in the process of formalisation. Can this become a validation of informal settlement functionality and therefore underline the need to develop methods of *in situ* upgrading? It also begins to address Harvey's (2012) bigger questions of lifestyle, aesthetic and social relations, and in doing so suggests a bottom up 'shaping power'.
- This chapter has discussed Deleuze and Guattari's shift away from Kantian judgement toward a notion of connection (Rajchman, 2000). For Kant X is Y, for Deleuze and Guattari realigning this formula to X and Y produces rhizomic

relations. Assuming this altered theoretical equation, the formal/informal model loses its binary functionality, instead becoming unifying. Arguably this becomes a description that a) could be a positive way to think about informality as part of the urban fabric, opening an altered a way to move forward for urban development; and b) is more representational of informal settlement itself, which as the following chapters will show, is a combination of formal and informal practices.

- Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of 'geophilosophy' describes space as a reflection of everyday habitual rhythms, refrains, *milieus* and territories. This effectively redefines spatial boundary to codes understood by local users. Wise (2000) and Janz (2002) explain that these codes are not fixed, but continually change given the user and the conditions. This puts into question the current development tactics of enumerations and aerial mapping, as these models engage settlements as static. This underlines the inappropriateness of articulating informal settlements using a design language based on permanence. Instead, perhaps Deleuze and Guattari's concepts suggest a possible alternative language, a language based on what rhythms create home; what refrains create place; what *milieus* interact to form territories, and so on. Just as Janz (2002:6) suggests that Deleuze and Guattari's notions can be used to realise 'the range of a bird [that] cannot be mapped', perhaps a similar method can be used to glean socio-spatial understanding of informal settlement.
- Further thinking on the right to the city can perhaps be elucidated by putting Mbembe's (2000) notion of the domination of space as a means to gain resources, and the resulting violence, alongside Janz's (2002) discussion on Deleuze and Guattari's concept of rhizomic points of connection creating lines and diagrams to explore territory as relevant to African spatial philosophy. Mbembe (2000) makes the point that boundaries are drawn using Western-based pretexts for bounding space as apposed to the African understanding of spatiality, as was discussed in Chapter 02. Janz (2002) meanwhile 'argue[s] that place, the place we find ourselves in and which has meaning to us, precedes space, the bounded and abstractly defined' (*ibid.*:2). Both are putting into question the abstract parameters (formal/informal, maps, scales and conventions) used to determine spatial boundaries in the African context. Janz (2002:14) speaks to this

using Fanon's voice: 'African philosophy has been acutely aware of the outside affronts - Fanon theorises it well, and a host of other thinkers, quite rightly, have argued that not only the land but the mind must be decolonized'. This raises two questions, first, is there a more appropriate means to understanding settlement edges and urban fragments?; and second, could this lead to further unlocking informal political agency?

- A thread running through the work of many of the philosopher/theorists discussed in this chapter is activism. Foucault, Lefebvre, Bourdieu and Deleuze and Guattari all pointed to the problematic nature of knowledge and power in spatial production (Driver, 1985; Elden and Crampton, 2007). Bourdieu, in Wacquant's (2006:14) words, 'doggedly pursued a single aim: to forestall or prevent abuses of power in the name of reason and to disseminate weapons for resistance to symbolic domination'. Similarly, towards the end of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991:383) turns from the evaluation of space to its resolution, he addresses the hegemonic character of political power:

'This state defends class interests while simultaneously setting itself above society as a whole, and its ability to intervene in space can and must be turned back against it, by grass-roots opposition, in the form of counter-plans and counter-projects designed to thwart strategies, plans and programmes imposed from above'.

Harvey (2008) suggests that Lefebvre's shift from spatial theory to spatial activism in 'the campaign to stop the Left Bank Expressway and the destruction of traditional neighbourhoods by the invading "high-rise giants"...helped animate the larger dynamics of the '68 uprising' (Harvey, 2008:28). Similarly, Bogue (1989:4) points out that, 'it was within the OG [Opposition de Gauche] that [Guattari] played a major behind-the-scenes role in the events of May 1968'. All of this speaks to Harvey's (2012:5) notion of 'shaping power' and therefore the right to the city and brings to light the role and potential power of social movements. In this same vein, Bieri (2002) explores the history of bottom up social movements in Berne, Switzerland.

'In the context of globalisation and neoliberalism, tales of the city are rewritten, and the promises of city life need to be subjected to scrutiny. Beyond the mere idea of integration and heterogeneity, an urban setting implies the possibility of innovative projects aimed at overcoming so-called alienated living-spaces' (Bieri, 2002:207).

She goes on to assert that squatting can prove a powerful voice for the urban poor, 'the struggle for space positions squatters within an arena in which power and "the right to the city" are negotiated' (Bieri:212). She suggest that 'the

squatters in Berne managed to involve the question of power in the city...[stating that] the movement was not only about some place to live, it was about how the system worked and how power was distributed' (*ibid.*:214). This parallels Lefebvre's (1996) definition of "need" as discussed earlier. It is to this end that Bieri among others (Lefebvre, 1991; Buchanan, 2001; Zikode, 2008a borrowing from the organic discourse), insist that the voice of the "squatters" must make a contribution to any meaningful, sustainable urban development strategy. This gets at Foucault and Deleuze's (1972) notion that avenues must be found to remove power-generated barriers so that the oppressed can speak for themselves. In other words, a way must be found to give informal residents a voice. Can the fight for legitimacy in informal housing in Johannesburg be compared to the fight against the Left Bank Expressway in Paris, or to the questioning of the structure of urban social life in Berne? Are these examples of neglected human rights as Harvey (2008) suggests? Can informality be an avenue to question rather than to accept the further entrenchment of segregated cityscapes and the *status quo*?

- On the surface Healey's (1999) Communicative Planning Theory, with its roots in the ideals of Mannheim and Habermas; or Sandercock's (1998, 2003) theory of planning in multicultural societies, would seem to address the issue from the previous paragraph: hearing the voices from below. The 1980s saw communication become the key element of planning, 'Interaction (with stakeholders or interest groups), communicating ideas, forming arguments, debating differences in understandings, and finally reaching consensus on a course of action replace detached, expert-driven plan-making as the primary activity of planners' (Watson, 2002:29). In other words, Habermas's desire to expand the ideals of democracy is the cornerstone of the participatory planning model. Watson (2002:30) underlines this, stating that the model's 'position is the assumption of universal citizenship, where differences between actors occur only at the level of speech or ideas and can be overcome through argumentation'. She goes on to quote Healey:

'the power of dominant discourses can be challenged at the level of dialogue; through the power of knowledgeable, reflective discourse; through good arguments; and through the transformations that come as people learn to understand and respect each other across their differences and conflicts' (Watson, 2002:30 quoting Healey, 1999:119).

Healey (2003) acknowledges Foucault's warning that the 'power of dominant

discourse' and the 'power of knowledge' can become problematic. However, there is critical concern that neither of these models concedes the potential consequences of power exerted during the process. Fainstein (2005:125) paraphrases Flyvbjerg who 'caution[s] against an idealism that ignores conflict and power'. Again we are reminded of Foucault and Deleuze's (1972) statement that the dynamic of power is the root of change, not individual theories or models. This said, how can the dynamics of the upgrading process be changed so that the 'shaping power' truly is in the hands of the informal residents and thus maximising their right to the city?

Conclusion

The chapter's discussion began with Deleuze's statement that 'A philosophical theory...is a developed question', which leads me to ask how this chapter has helped to further develop my research question. The first section followed the evolution of thinking on place through Heidegger, Lefebvre and Deleuze and Guattari. This understanding of place becomes relevant as it speaks to the beginning of the research question, which asks what the dimensions and expressions of place are in informal communities. The implications of why this is important begins to unfold with Heidegger's concepts of *Dasein* and Being and Lefebvre's "moment" - it is the notion of everyday that must be understood in the context of informality. In this same vein, Deleuze and Guattari's concept of nomadisms, or surroundings, becomes a further step to unlocking understanding through their spatial language: rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territorialisation/deterritorialisation. It is this spatial language that I propose to take forward and apply to informal settlement as a means to unlock socio-spatial understanding.

Another linguistic shift that Deleuze and Guattari's work brings to the context of this study is their notion of 'disjunctive synthesis', in other words an uncoded diagram that emerges through related and seemingly unrelated connections. Rajchman (2000) explains that the replacement of "X is Y" with "X and Y" fundamentally changes the logical coherence from a statement to a relationship. Deleuze and Guattari argue that in this way disjunctive synthesis becomes a mechanism or 'logical operator' (*ibid. ibid.*:56) of analysis/understanding with the ability to subvert or destabilise the power between subject and object. Further, they assert that the

resultant multiplicity of this mechanism diminishes a logic of simplicity or reductionism, instead embracing complexity. As well, it becomes of interest to this study when couched in terms of informal residents' relationship to the city, social capital and Simone's (2004) ideas of both social and physical connection around his concept of people as infrastructure.

This leads to the second half of my research question: residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours and how they are tied to upgrading approaches. Sections 04.2 and 04.3 address this with a discussion around power and the right to the city, which relates to Lefebvre's (1991) articulation of urban residents' "needs", and Harvey's (2012) suggestion that in order to meet these needs, much bigger questions need to be asked about the lifestyle, aesthetic and social relations of all urban residents. It is only then, he claims, that the concept of 'shaping power' *vis-à-vis* the question of who holds the power to shape cities can be addressed. It is with the examination of these larger questions, and therefore such norms as neoliberalism and urban competitiveness, that dialogues such as those of Mbembe (2001b), Huchzermeyer (2011) and others become particularly relevant. Mbembe (2001b:131) draws together the concepts of power and right to the city, articulating why, in post-colonial Africa power, understanding 'the obscenity of power' is critical in understanding this issue. To this end, he argues that the State not only shapes the agenda of urban development but also instills this agenda into the consciousness of the citizens, which he considers to be a uniquely post-colonial process (*ibid.*). In other words, he is not only claiming that the shaping power is in the hands of the State, but also that the expectations (lifestyle, aesthetic, and social relations) of the residents are embedded by the State, and by extension the global market (*ibid.*).

The final part of my research question asks: How does the changing character of place, through upgrading, evolving development or relocation impact the residents' "needs"? This is addressed through a series of questions put forth in section 04.4 that will be carried into the following chapters. These questions attempt to extract concepts, largely from the work of Deleuze and Guattari, Heidegger, and Lefebvre that are relevant to how the question of space and place in informal settlements can

adequately be understood and incorporated into any upgrading effort. Also running through these questions is the thread of institutionalised power, that as many of the thinkers discussed in this chapter point out, is attached to the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge; and which, as Foucault warns, can lead to the 'power of dominant discourse' in urban development practices (Healey, 2003).

chapter 05 METHODOLOGY: ARTICULATING THE RESEARCH PARADIGM

'...we measure and map space and place...These are important approaches, but they need to be complemented by experiential data that we can collect and interpret in measured confidence because we are human ourselves' (Tuan, 2001:5).

Introduction

This chapter develops an appropriate research paradigm to meld the content discussed in the literature reviews in Chapters 02 and 03 with the questions raised in the theoretical debates in Chapter 04. The discussions in the previous chapter revolved around thinkers who all believed that when considering space and place the inclusion of the everyday experience is paramount. It follows then that the methodology design for this study should continue in that same vein. As Emerson (2001:x) points out, the fieldwork stage of a study is first and foremost 'mixing with people and encountering moments...[and then] writing accounts of the encounters as some form of "data," and thinking about their meaning and theoretical import'. For this reason, and given the setting and environment of my fieldwork, I have chosen to combine what Blaikie (2007:27) refers to as a 'bottom up research strategy' with a case study methodology because, as Flyvbjerg (2011) contends, a case study's primary strength is the ability to achieve depth of understanding. This said, I attempt to avoid a purely positivist case study approach because of certain problematic principles 'between subject and object' (Fals-Borda, 2001:31), which will be elaborated on in the first half of the chapter. Instead, I turn toward the principle of reflexivity, which as Burawoy (2009) puts it, 'arises from a critical engagement with positive science'; and which has lead me to the extended case (Burawoy, 2009) and action research (Fals-Borda, 2001) methodologies.

The 'mixing' and 'encountering' in this study take place in two case study sites: the informal settlements, Harry Gwala and Makause, in Ekurhuleni (Johannesburg - Ekurhuleni - Tshwane metroplex), South Africa. The backgrounds and environs of these case study locations will be discussed in depth in the next chapter. In the meantime, at stake in this chapter is the means to glean their essence through those who experience them; as Tuan (2001) puts it, those who: know, learn and conceptually understand the locale. To this end, the first section examines my choice of methodology and its integration with the epistemology of the previous chapter, and

further outlines how this will lead to the analysis and presentation of the study's empirical and anecdotal data. This is followed in the next section by a more pragmatic discussion of the trials, successes and pitfalls of my fieldwork experience.

section05.1 Finding an epistemological approach to fieldwork and data analysis

I use the term epistemology because this study is examining whether my theory, that place is integral to informal residents' livelihood and quality of life endeavours, is justified. In pursuit of that, this section begins with a summary of the key threads from Chapter 04's theoretical study, as well as those drawn from earlier chapters. Together these articulate the "what" and "how" that need to be addressed through the fieldwork methodology and data analysis. The section then moves on to a discussion of why Burawoy's (1998, 2009) extended case method is appropriate for this study. This is followed by an explanation of the parameters of the case study site selection and what sites have been chosen. Finally, I cover what data is going to be collected, the means of data collection and how the data will be analysed.

section05.1.1 A discussion on methodology: matching research strategy to the context and fieldwork style

This section draws from the study to this point, identifying the critical concepts that need to be integrated into the fieldwork phase. In so doing, it begins to articulate the "whats" and "hows" for data collection. It then goes on to make an argument for the adoption of Burawoy's (1998, 2009) extended case methodology.

There are several threads from the final section of the previous chapter (04.4) that deserve consideration. Woven together, they point to specific areas of the spatial and temporal character of place that need to be addressed in this study. Appraising the space element, I begin with the inclusion of how people experience and process experiences in their everyday lives, as was discussed earlier by Heidegger (1958) who refers to this as *Dasein* and Being, Lefebvre (1991) as moments, and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as individuation or nomadism. Parallel to this is a second thread, the question of the urban poor's level of agency or their ability to know and to engage with the micro and macro happenings and influences that impact their "moments". This raises the question: are the oppressed conscious actors 'capable of reason and ethical action', as Pithouse (2012:7) argues? These two threads are tied

together by Packer's (1989:96) comment on Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenological approach to Being: 'interpretation is the necessary kind of inquiry for a being that always has an understanding albeit [sometimes] unarticulated, of the kind of being it is'. Together these themes are the means to evidence the legitimacy of informal residents as active players in the upgrading process.

Closely tied to this is the third concept of defamiliarisation or the device that influences how people perceive and process environments or objects with which they interact. In other words, peoples' preconceptions, biases, aesthetic, and so on. Visual interpretation draws from the discussion in Chapters 02 in reference to the state, popular medias and other agencies that manipulate peoples' beliefs and aesthetic. The example given in Chapter 02 was the reintroduction of the term "slum" by UN-Habitat as part of development efforts, with the inclusion of many low income housing typologies (such as informal settlement) under the umbrella of "slum". The subsequent shift in academic and popular interest (apocalyptic prediction, slum tours, slum movies and so on) evidences the impact of macro development norms. This is relevant to the study because it reflects the way in which development agencies (such as the UN and World Bank), governments and the general population view and react to a wide range of different living environments and it influences the expectations of the informal residents. In turn, this impacts how informal residents and informal settlements are able to form connections with, and extract their rights from, the cities that they inhabit.

A fourth thread, in this same vein, addresses the temporal character of the relationship between the subaltern and the city. Fanon (1961) couches this in terms of the persistence (time) required to understand and cultivate post-colonial livelihoods; time needed as he puts it to decolonise the mind. Similarly, Heidegger's (1962) concept of dwelling or one's ability to achieve a 'concrete life' is based to a large extent on the time it takes to establish a relationship with the place in which you dwell (Vycinas, 1969:21). Together these build the conceptual starting point for the fieldwork.

Thus far the discussion has pointed to what needs to be addressed, but the previous

theory chapter also suggested a methodology with which to address these concepts. Deleuze and Guattari's shift in conceptual language from "is" to "and" resulting in the diagrammatic notion of disjunctive synthesis, combined with their concept of geophilosophy representing a shift in the language of inquiry, begin to articulate a mechanism with which to engage informality's social and spatial relationships with the city. Like their description of anticipated and unanticipated rhizomic connections in society, informal settlement makes anticipated connections to its locale, but there are also unforeseen connections, both of which need to be documented and understood.

It is at this point that I draw together and operationalise two key concepts that have been introduced earlier in the study: Deleuze and Guattari's relational language of space, rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory; and the relational resource of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1989; Putnam, 2000), both of these concepts are based on the idea of connection. The first articulates connection and the second reflects on its value to the individual, in this way they become valuable indicators of what defines place, and in turn produces space at the micro scale. Putnam's (2000:22) notion of 'bridging networks', which describes residents' ability to procure benefit from outside their community parallels the relational descriptor refrain, which Janz (2002:8) describes as the 'rope that ties together sets of territories and milieus'. Similarly, rhythms of everyday activities with neighbours, friends and members of the leadership within the community align with Coleman's (1988:100-1) notion that 'relations among persons...facilitate productive activity' and Putnam's (2000:22) process of 'bonding capital'.

To more fully comprehend informal urban space (development and response) it is also necessary to acknowledge the influences of macro scale development norms and the injections of power (its particularised sources and consequences), as discussed in Chapters 02 and 04. Accordingly, it is critical to adjust the scale of the study such that it is broader than the two communities in Ekurhuleni. Therefore, given the study's macro and micro components, my level of interaction with the case study communities, and my commitment to the incorporation of a theoretical dimension, Burawoy's (1998, 2009) extended case method is an appropriate match

to the objectives and pragmatic realities of this study. The premises of this method are that:

- theory is necessary to understand social reality (Burawoy, 2009);
- researchers with their ideas and insights are inherently part of the world that they study (*ibid.*);
- it is necessary to make the connections between micro and macro influences in any ethnographic study (*ibid.*);
- it must be acknowledged that academia is a purveyor of power in the influences of micro and macro norms (*ibid.*);
- everyday realities need to challenge the analytical theories of researchers, ‘being wrong and obsessing about it’ further develops theories (Burawoy, 2009:xiv);
- and finally, the assumption should be made that analytical theory is accessible to laypeople (*ibid.*).

Also of considerable importance is this methodology’s position that data collection frameworks become emergent rather than being fixed: ‘dialogue between participant and observer provides an ever-changing sieve for collecting data’ (*ibid.*:34). This description of dialogue, which is key to the reflexive method, intimates a certain type of relationship between the researcher and the participant, one in which the observer impacts the participant, and conversely the participant impacts the observer. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) address this by suggesting the incorporation of reflexivity into positivism. However, Burawoy (2009:39) takes this a step further, proposing a ‘methodological duality’ of positive and reflexive sciences. He argues that the limitation of reflexive science is the inevitable power conflicts that occur when the observer becomes a more active participant; while positive science is limited by context (*ibid.*). In this way, the basis of one and the limitation of the other form a ‘circularity in the models’ (Table 05.1) (*ibid.*:62).

Table 05.1: Comparison showing the differences and yet circularity of positivism and reflexivism, drawn from Burawoy (2009:63).

Positivism			Reflexivism		
principles	survey method	limitations: context effect	principles/points of extension	extended case	limitations: power effect
reactivity	response to stimulus	interview	intervention	extending researcher into context	potential for dominating and being dominated

Positivism			Reflexivism		
reliability	standardised criteria for selecting data	unresponsive to localised, everyday life	process	actual observations extended over time and space	silence, marginalise, exclude, distort voices
replicability	Standardisation of conditions	potential dictation of field conditions	structuration	extending from social process to social structure (micro/macro)	treating abstract social forces (rather than their source) as reality
representativeness	case study typical of all	data overly influenced by situational events	reconstruction	extending theory to site and site to theory	the establishment of the categories to study

Anticipating how the study findings will contribute to the larger dialogue of informal settlement upgrading is also critical in the choice of methodology. As was mentioned in the introduction, the principles of positivism are a problematic match to this study. First, reactivity assumes separation between the researcher and the participants (Burawoy, 2009); I was not, as the following chapters will show, a non-intervening observer. The second and third principles are reliability and replicability; Robins (2002) and Williamson (personal communication, 26 Feb. 2008) have expressed that standardised criteria and conditions, with approaches such as enumerations, have proven troublesome in the fluid environments of informality. Also worth noting is Spiegel's (1986:31) comment that 'research which fails to account for the substantive phenomenon of fluctuating household composition also fails to recognise what is a crucial key to our understanding'. His work was in a rural context but this notion has validity in the urban context as well. He is, in essence, suggesting the need to embrace the non-replicable. And finally, the principle of representativeness is also unsuitable given the wide diversity in informal settlement. Thus given the inappropriateness of reliability, replicability and representativeness, one begins to question how findings in this context can be generalised so as to contribute to the issues surrounding informal settlement upgrading.

In contrast, Burawoy (2009) suggests that reflexivism addresses a study's ability to generalise through a process of aggregation. He explains that 'reflexive science

collects multiple readings of a single case and aggregates them into social processes' and that in this lies its potential to provide an understanding of social environments (*ibid.*:41). In a similar vein, Flyvbjerg (2011) points out that generalisations can be drawn from case study methods where each site is unique, but goes on to argue that documenting social experiences and examining their transferability may be of greater use. This is significant because one of the tenets of this study is that assumptions and "solutions" should not be made about "all" informal settlement upgrading from the situational knowledge of a few, and yet the study needs to have pragmatic worth.

This section built an argument for the extended case method based on the context of the study, the theoretical notions of note drawn from the previous chapters, and the anticipated contributions. This strategy will be developed further in the following sections as they go through the plan and design of the bottom up case study approach and the methods of data collection and analysis.

section 05.1.2 Case study approach and site selection

Understanding the local context of the informal settlements is paramount to this study, consequently after the case study approach was adopted, the choice of sites became critical to the study's success. The sites need to show the diversity of urban informal settlement, and in order to successfully "extend" the researcher into the context a suitable level of rapport was needed with the community (intervention, Table 05.1). This section explores how this was accomplished.

The choice of sites for this study needed to support theoretical reconstruction (Table 05.1). In other words, the ability to pose the theory that place is a significant element in residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours; and then to 'seek not confirmations but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory' (Burawoy, 2009:43). Ideally, this process would leave core postulates intact, which would then become points of comparison or generalisation. To this end, the requisite site selection parameters needed to reflect a suitable balance of similarities and differences in the communities to make this possible. The chosen similarities include communities with a history and commitment by the residents: to pursue *in situ* upgrading; who have faced threats of eviction and actively defended their space;

and for pragmatic reasons, communities with strong leadership organisation and existing ties to the local academic community. Conversely, acceptable differences are: density, urban location, size, age, residential/commercial makeup, and spatial stability.

The sites that have been chosen for the study are Harry Gwala, a smaller, well established settlement adjacent to Wattville, an apartheid era township; and Makause, a larger settlement that is well located near Germiston and Primrose central business districts (CBD). They reflect different community typologies in density, residential/commercial makeup and spatial stability. This said, they both have faced periods of forced evictions, relocations and shack demolition, and have stood up to this with legal action and community solidarity demanding *in situ* upgrading from the municipality's Department of Housing/Human Settlements.

As was mentioned earlier, it is important that the study of these communities extends beyond the edges of the communities both physically and theoretically. Burawoy's (2009) method addresses this with the principle of structuration (Table 05.1), which investigates the relationships between micro and macro norms to show what is influencing trends on the ground. Some of these socio-power forces were introduced in earlier chapters: neoliberalism (power of capital), urban competitiveness, property value, policies for relocation and so on. In the previous chapter I discussed Foucault and Deleuze's (1972) assertion that real change will only come when questions are asked about the particularised sources of power, not just the consequences of that power. Similarly, Burawoy (2009:49) suggests that by 'tracing the source of small differences to external forces' and the extenuating social processes from which they spring, points of comparison and therefore useful generalisations can be made.

This section has outlined the need to "extend" the context of case study research beyond the site itself to include the forces that influence the site. This again connects back to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion that the mechanism for examining connection is a change in the language of inquiry from "is" to "and".

section 05.1.3 Capturing the local context: choosing the appropriate means of data collection

Having identified case study as the appropriate fieldwork approach it became critical to pinpoint the most productive means to collect data. This section outlines the use of narrative interview, participant observation and environmental observation to gather research data. Infused into these will be cultural observations. In addition, the section explores why these particular methods were chosen.

Conducting research in the informal sector presents challenges. This is particularly true in communities that have faced the fear and uncertainty stemming from forced evictions and relocation; as a result silencing, marginalising, or intimidating voices are a real concern. For this reason I chose to use a narrative interview style. Kellett (2000) suggests that this is a useful tool to understand intimate people/place relationships and local knowledge. He goes on to argue that such approaches can be used 'to explore the less visible and tangible aspects of housing through direct engagement with residents and individuals' (*ibid.*:189). He goes on to explain that the nuances gained by this method are often more relevant in relation to private space than general question and answer strategies (*ibid.*). Additionally, black South Africans have a long and rich history of oral testimony (Furniss and Gunner, 1995; Hofmeyr, personal communication, 21 May 2008), which further legitimises this as an appropriate tool in this setting. Of further value is its ability to transform the interviewee into a proactive role, which Kellett (2000) contends lessens the chance that the researcher misconstrues generalised responses. Niger-Thomas (2001), in her sensitive exploration of women's roles in the informal sector in Cameroon, also supports the use of oral history as a source for the intimate details of people's lives and their informal, and therefore questionably legal, living practices. She advocates that being conscious of this vulnerability can help to diminish any perceived intimidation (power) on the part of the participants (*ibid.*). She encourages this method because it presents a fuller picture of the reality of living conditions and as such is a productive means to get at the question: does informality, with its generally negative connotations, 'encourage or deter development' (*ibid.*:66)? Mbembe (2001a:6) reflects that Niger-Thomas's method of 'work in multiple locations, life stories...and analysis of the microdimensions of everyday life' begins to define how territorial edges have become 'places of bargaining' between the formal and informal, the legal and illegal that define the struggles of everyday life. In this way it

becomes a strategy to explore Deleuze and Guattari's concepts of rhythm, refrain and *milieu* in the process of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in informal communities (Wise, 2000; Janz, 2002).

Beyond interviewing, other data gathering techniques were used. Participant observation, or the study of people in their time and space, helped to explore the residents' use of physical and relational space. The usefulness of this approach has been seen in earlier chapters with the references to Schlyter's (1981) comprehensive investigation into the upgrading project in George, which included observational studies into the use of private living spaces. Rapoport's (1990) study of culture and built form further confirms the validity of this tactic, he argues that making the connection between activities and settings defines the environments that people occupy. He points out that it does not make sense to only look at one activity but instead to extend this to activity systems, likewise not to look at people in one setting but rather 'various buildings, a variety of outdoor spaces, settlements, and whole regions: they inhabit cultural landscapes' (*ibid. Ibid.*:12). Madanipour (1996:25) states that 'a dynamic [space/time] conception of place would more realistically represent the multiplicity of social practices and identities. There would be, however, fixities in any point in time...The identities of places, therefore will be defined and redefined constantly'. This concept illustrates the relevance of Deleuze and Guattari's place language in a fluid context. As such, it begins to explain how Widlock (1999:399), in his studies of the nomadic tribes of northern Namibia, shows that even in a 'society governed by flexibility and informality' cultural norms are expressed in communities' spatial layouts. More recently, Oppenheimer and Raposo's (2008) physical study of Luanda and Maputo compiled diagrams to illustrate living spaces, and as such is an example of how this strategy can be used to reflect residents' spatial habits and patterns. This will be one of the study's mechanisms used to articulate Deleuze and Guattari's concept of defining *milieus* and territories of space through the rhythms and refrains of spatial use.

These concepts will be further explored using relational mapping and environmental observation. Again we turn to the previous chapter's discussion of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), this time to their use of "and" as a mechanism to spotlight rhizomic

connections. On the ground, this translates to identifying connections between people, places and happenings in and around the informal settlement. At first glance this seems to overlap with the information collected with participant observation, and to some extent it does; however this also gets at a different aspect (beyond personal space) of spatial use and therefore begins to reflect the complex layering present in the communities. Also looking from different angles can illuminate the biases we bring to observation. As was mentioned in an earlier chapter, Hart and Pirie (1984:3) make the observation that 'the caricature of slums drawn by external observers is exposed as myth: deprivation is not always endemic and total'. In other words, because development norms say that informal settlements are "slums" doesn't mean that they always are. The question of the observer's bias brings to mind, from an earlier chapter the use of defamiliarisation, manipulated aesthetic and embedded power. This was seen in Holston's (1998) comments on the application of modernist theory, and Roy's (2004) reflection on the aestheticisation of poverty and *tabula rasa* responses. These manifestations of power influence the way we perceive what we see, what we experience, and how we respond to them, as Healey (2003:115) indicates 'the intellectual bias of my work derives from the social theory I draw on', which is true for any researcher.

Also at stake is the need to look beyond space to a deeper situational knowledge of place. Cultural geographers Daniels and Cosgrove (1988:8) suggest that 'every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol'. With this in mind, in an effort to again question the importance of place in the realm of informal residents' needs, I use a cultural lens to explore the character of place by examining cultural significance in informal communities. As Sancar (2003:270) points out, in spatial understanding 'attention has shifted from psychophysical variables such as spatial structure and form to symbolism and image'. In her study, she uses the traditional music of Istanbul as a method to further understand and articulate the strong attachments to place between the residents, their communities and the city. In this way, she suggests that 'Songs...are unique expressions of place attachment that go beyond the conventional methodological dichotomies of the subjective - personal and objective – universal. Therefore, they can help us understand the nature of place attachment across different populations and types of places' (*ibid.*:287).

An example in the context of South Africa is Miriam Makeba's song *Sophiatown Is Gone*, which tells the story of the loss of place in Sophiatown and the placelessness in Meadowland where the residents were relocated to. Leyshon, Matless and Revill (1995) and Hanson (2006) both acknowledge hip hop as a contemporary genre that is locally rooted and serves similar purpose. However, Ekurhuleni local DJ Kutloro suggests that Kwaito, specifically the songs of Mdu, Mendoza and Zola, tell the story of today's urban realities (interview, 23 July 2010). I was unable to find lyrics specific to the case study sites, and while a larger intensive review of lyrics could shed light on informal community dynamics, it is largely outside the scope of this study. However, this music's capacity for spatial definition and social activity is not. The discussion in Chapter 03 referenced Hanson's (2006) description of the "township music" blaring from taxis gives an identity to the spaces they occupy. It is not just the sound of music, but also the sound of the urban streets that define space; *Amandla!* was the South African rallying cry in Xhosa and Zulu during apartheid oppression, *Amandla Ngawethu!* is today's cry by grassroots groups against post-apartheid oppression. Similarly, *toyi-toyi* is their song and dance used as a means of street protest. It was a common sight during the resistance to apartheid and is used today as a weapon in the fight to obtain housing rights (Siphethu, personal communication, 6 Feb. 2008; Timm, personal communication, 6 Feb. 2008) and as such has become a recognisable form of expression that defines space. This begins to describe the nuances that sound can give to the emotional identity to a space.

Additionally, fictional prose is another window into the social realities of daily life. As with lyrics, Hart and Pirie (1984) recognise the power of fictional description in their review of the life and demise of Sophiatown. In 1960s South Africa, fiction was used as a tool of resistance; similarly, contemporary writing describes the plight of the urban poor. Professor Isabel Hofmeyr from Wits University, African Literature Department, and I compiled a list of relevant readings that includes: *Life and Times of Michael K* (Coetzee, 1983); *The Marabi Dance* (Dikobe, 1984); *Ways of Dying* (Mda, 1995); *Finding Mr. Madini* (Morgan, 2000); *The Madonna of Excelsior* (Mda, 2002); *Exploded View* (Vladislavić, 2004); *Dog Eat Dog* (Mhlongo, 2004), and among others. The fluid character of informal settlement can make it harder to

characterise; however, just as Hart and Pirie (1984:38) comment that 'novels, autobiographies, short stories, and essays reveal the human aspects better than any other sort of record' in the context of Sophiatown, so too can this argument be made for the here today, gone tomorrow nature of informal settlement.

Where possible the cultural observations will be, and have already in previous chapters been, woven into the fabric of the study; Fals-Borda (2001:31) describes this as 'combin[ing] hard "core" data with imaginative, literary and artistic "cortex" interpretation within cultural frames'. Given my desire to understand the character of the settlements, this is a more powerful strategy than a separate survey of cultural components of the city. The 'hard "core"' data of this study will consist of the interviewees' verbal accounts and relevant observational data in the form of mapping and photo-documentation. Yin (2008) points out the importance of appropriately organising data in the analysis process. This, he argues, can be done with current software packages designed as qualitative analysis tools. However, after extensively investigating these and speaking with other researchers I came to the conclusion that it would not be fruitful given the narrative character of my data. Instead the data was filtered through key categories based on the theoretical work in Chapter 04. Critical to this is the appropriate identification of categories of analysis and comparison (*ibid.*), for this study these are: social relations, physicality, dwelling (place) and citizenship. These were then overlaid on the four principals of the extended method: intervention, the outsider (researcher) within the realm of study; process, taking situational knowledge and finding social process; structuration, examining the relationships between micro and macro norms and trends; and reconstruction, the use of concrete data to evolve the starting theory (Table 05.1) (Burawoy, 2009). And, as Burawoy (2009:65) points out, all of this must be done while limiting the 'domination of analyst over analysand, [the] silencing of the past, [the] objectification of personality structures' and to paraphrase him the normalisation of the theory itself.

These sections have outlined the general methods of data collection, it is worth taking the time here to also mention the technical/practical methods of these forms of collection. The interviews were digitally recorded, those recordings were then

downloaded onto the computer and transcribed. Where necessary translations from Xhosa, Zulu, and Sotho to English were done by Grace Mjongula who was paid for her services. Observations were recorded *via* photography and hand drawings/ comments into my field notebook.

section05.2 Summary of fieldwork: design, successes and pitfalls

‘Opening ourselves to the true nature of design, we realise that no two situations are ever the same. We must therefore accept, even welcome, crossing the threshold of the inner-sanctum into a realm of confusion...we learn that confusion can become our most profound zone of consciousness and, on returning, find new creative heights that cannot be explored in any other way’ (Wood, 1991:18).

The design goals of this fieldwork are twofold, the first is to meaningfully engage with the residents of the community. The phrase “meaningful engagement” is always in the fore of South African upgrading efforts because it is written into the housing law (Chenwi and Tissington, (2010), however for reasons that will come to light in the following chapters, it is rarely given more than superficial acknowledgement. The second goal is to uncover both refutations and confirmations of my theory on the significance of place in the realm of informal settlement upgrading in an effort to strengthen it. Wood’s (1991) statement above touches on both of these: the need and perhaps courage to embrace the perceived confusion of informal settlement; and the necessity of pursuing something other than replicable *solutions*. The basic assumption driving this research is that informal settlements fulfil a need for the most vulnerable urban residents, and therefore that those communities should be the starting point for developing appropriate upgrading interventions. This section begins with a description of the fieldwork design and addresses the practical preparations. This includes timeframes, interview style, and potential ethical dilemmas. The section then goes on to relate the pragmatic experiences of working in the field, which includes the acknowledgement of biases, preconceptions and differing aesthetics; the realities of access to the communities; and the limitations encountered with my case study strategy.

section05.2.1 Practical preparations and fieldwork design

The previous section laid out the means to collect data, this leaves the need for a logistical plan to accomplish it. The section begins with the practical preparations necessary to carry out fieldwork in the informal settlement environment and then

moves on to briefly describe the three phases of fieldwork and some of the successes and pitfalls.

Part of the preparation for my fieldwork was to acknowledge the impact that I would make as a white, foreign, middle class researcher in a poor black informal settlement in a country with a history of racial oppression. In an effort to further understand the potential for this embedded power to influence the data, while not required, I chose to submit an application for a *Clearance of Research Involving Human Subjects* to the Human Research Ethics Committee. At stake is the consideration of the residents' extreme level of poverty and their insecure tenure; therefore after attending the training session at the University of the Witwatersrand, *Ethics in Research* I deemed it appropriate to consider them a vulnerable population. The application process included writing a proposal of fieldwork to be carried out in this study. This included: the case studies of two informal settlements; the collection of oral testimonies from the residents; and the mapping and photography of their private spaces. This was carried out with the understanding that heed must be taken to ensure that the relationship between researcher and participant was based on fairness and trust, and that their dignity was respected throughout my project. This was achieved by honestly representing my own abilities and limitations; conducting my research *with* the participants rather than *on* them (Heron and Reason, 2001); keeping all questions within the realm agreed at the start of the study; respecting that I am in their community; and refining my research methodology around specific ethical criteria. The resultant ethics clearance was granted on 23 July 2008 (Appendix A).

In the interim I outlined the overall design for my fieldwork and began phase 1. In the design, I broke the timeframe down into three phases (Table 05.2). Phase 1 involved first making contact with the communities' respective leaderships and developing a working rapport with them and then conducting spatial mapping to begin to understand the overall workings of the communities and their surrounding locales. Phase 2, which could only begin with the receipt of the ethical clearance, was the initial period of interviews with community members and those people outside the community but related to the upgrading process. In addition this period included

participant and relational observations. Phase 3 included follow up interviews and observations. The timeframe of this last phase was designed around the repercussions of the court case involving Harry Gwala informal settlement and the FIFA World Cup, both of which will be described further in the next section. Following through from the methodology discussion in the previous section, phase 1 addressed the extended case method principle of intervention or the strategy to extend the researcher into the context of the study. Phases 2 and 3 supported the second principle of process, in other words transforming situational knowledge into social process.

Table 05.2: Fieldwork time table for work in the field.

Community	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Harry Gwala	March 2008	August/September '08	June - July 2010
Makause	April 2008	August/September '08	June - July 2010

At Harry Gwala, an additional three week period of engagement took place in October/November 2012. I was asked by human rights lawyer Moray Hathorn to work with the community in preparing a layout for the *in situ* upgrading of Harry Gwala. It consisted of meetings with the Harry Gwala Civic Committee, mass meetings with the community and intensive documentation of existing conditions at the site.

Through the course of the study preparations, it became clear that one of the primary sources of data would be the interviews. Consequently, establishing an appropriately sensitive and yet productive interview style was paramount. I fashioned my questions in such a way as to draw narrative as opposed to statistical or survey type responses. The reasons for this are, that the narrative gives a more in depth and diachronic window into the character of the participants' conditions and experiences in the community (Kellet, 2000; Niger-Thomas, 2001), and as Bruner (1991) points out, it tends to give a durative quality to the data. This individual narrative format also allows for a dialogue with the larger historical chronology described in Chapter 03, therefore providing personal and particularly pivotal happenings in a historical backdrop. Bruner's (1991) paper explores the issues at stake when documenting the real world using the narrative format.

To begin, he describes what he calls the ‘intentional state entailment’, or the relationship of people acting in a setting; he goes on to suggest that the significance of this is how it impacts ‘their intentional states...to their beliefs, desires, theories, values, and so on’ (*ibid.*:7). Bruner (1991) also brings to attention the hermeneutic or interpretational element of any narrative, referencing both the interviewee’s narrative and the larger narrative being produced by the researcher. He cautions the researcher to narrate with care lest their readers become ‘hermeneutically alert’ when facts don’t add up or when they perceive an ulterior motive of the narrator, whether interviewee or researcher (*ibid.*:10). Much of this can be addressed with what he terms ‘narrative accrual’, or in other words, the repetition of certain key facts expressed by multiple storytellers (interviewees) (*ibid.*:18).

Likewise he warns that the narrator (in this case the researcher) be cognitive of which normative genre her narrative falls into. The issue of academic normative genres was discussed in Chapter 02, with concern over the apocalyptic tone of the ‘urban catastrophe genre’ highlighting the term “slum” as voiced by Holson and Caldeira (2008) among others. With all this in mind, the following chapters will reflect that this narrative style proved varyingly successful over the body of 56 interviews (Table 05.3 and Appendix B). A final thought on the use of the interview method is brought up by both Bruner (1991) and Burawoy (1998 and 2009): the bias or preconceptions of the interviewer, which, they point out must be acknowledged and addressed by the researcher because of the inability to conduct research in an ‘emotional vacuum’. This is particularly relevant in the context of this study where I (the researcher) worked closely with and viewed the inequity toward the urban poor at the case study sites and beyond.

Table 05.3: Case study interviews.

Case study site	Phase 2	Phase 3	Total
Harry Gwala	15	15	30
Makause	15	11	26
		Total interviews:	56

The question of whom to interview, both inside the communities and those in other agencies and government positions that impact the communities, was also a significant element of the preparations. In both communities the situation required that the community leadership dictate the interviewees. However, I asked them to provide a demographic mix that was representative of the community. The need for support from the leadership was twofold: first, in light of my personal safety I could not go to the communities on my own; and second, their physically accompanying me put the residents at ease and was a signal that I was not a threat. This was particularly important in Makause in 2008 because there had been recent forced evictions. The matter of my safety also impacted the times that I visited the communities. The man who accompanied me in Makause did not like me to be there on the weekends after midday, on paydays, or late afternoon/evenings, this was largely related to his concerns about residents drinking alcohol and the potential for situations getting out of control. This did limit my access to residents who are regularly employed. In Harry Gwala I was always accompanied by a group of three or four residents from the leadership committee, and this mitigated some of the concerns about my safety. I was only ever there at night for meetings with Moray Hathorn their legal representative, and he and I would travel together. Many of the interviews here were conducted on the weekends because that was when residents were available, both to accompany me and to be interviewed. Part of this difference is that Harry Gwala is a smaller, less dense community with fewer *shebeens* and, anecdotally, less crime.

Outside of the communities I chose to interview members of the Department of Housing/Human Settlements at the municipal, provincial and national levels; at the national level this was with the National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP). Through these meetings I gained their perspective on the issues of the upgrading and eviction/relocation campaigns; basic services campaigns; and the government's ongoing as well as future plans for informal settlements.

Table 05.4: Government housing interviews.

Name	Government position
Mashikwane Lena Llale	Executive Manager in Legal and Programme Support, Housing Department (HD), EMM
Dali Mofokeng	Executive Managers in Project Implementation, HD, EMM
Pheladi Mojabelo	Human Settlement Development Director, HD, EMM
Aubrey Mokgosi	Director, Human Settlements Property and Institutional Support, HD, EMM
Robert van Dijk	Executive Managers in Project Implementation, HD, EMM
Bernard Williamson	Housing Information, HD, EMM
André van der Walt	Director, Development Planning, Gauteng
Monty Narsoo	National Upgrading Support Programme

Additionally, interviews were conducted outside the realm of the government. These included the areas of law, culture, private service provision and social work.

Table 05.5: Non-government interviews.

Name	Description
DJ Kutloro	DJ, Vosloorus, Ekurhuleni.
Moray Hathorn	Human Rights Lawyer, Head Pro Bono Group Webber Wentzel, Johannesburg
Isabel Hofmeyr	Professor in the African Literature Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Karen Scheepers	Hope Zone NGO counselor, Johannesburg
Sifiso Ntuli	Co-director of House of Nsako (music club), freelance cultural and political commentator Brixton, Johannesburg
Thobile Siphethu	Para-legal, Harry Gwala resident, activist and member Harry Gwala Civic Committee, Ekurhuleni
Jonathan Timm	Head of Special Projects, MVULA Trust, Johannesburg

Name	Description
Kate Tissington	Senior Research and Advocacy Officer, Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa, Johannesburg

The participant observational data was collected concurrent to the interviews. Before each interview, I sketched the outdoor private living spaces and photographed the different housing typologies, prevalent materials, levels of consolidation of the household structures and gardens, as well as residents' personal touches manifested in artistic or design details. In addition, with the help of residents I made relational mappings of the communities to show sources of basic services and the commercial versus residential makeup. This was particularly relevant in Makause which has an extensive mix of: density, layout patterns, public spaces, commercial enterprises, and relationships of the community to the locale.

This section has covered the pragmatic and design details of my preparations for fieldwork in the communities involved in the study; of particular note was the need to focus in on the style of interview to be used. The next section follows how this played out and the serendipitous events of the Court cases and the World Cup which took place during the course of my study and proved to enrich it.

section05.2.2 The realities of the fieldwork experience

This section starts with a brief overview of the three phases of research. It then details how the conditions in the case study communities impacted, both negatively and positively, my ability to collect credible data for the study.

The first phase began at Harry Gwala in March of 2008 with my introduction to the human rights lawyer working with the community, Moray Hathorn. I began to go to evening meetings with him and in so doing developed a relationship with members of the community leadership. My introduction to the second community, Makause, in April 2008, entailed meeting Alfred Moyo, a member of the community leadership and an urban activist who has ties to previous academic involvement in that settlement. All members of the community leadership in both settlements are residents.

These relationships allowed for the evolution to the second phase, which began with the compilation of lists of potential participants in corroboration with the communities' leadership. The situation in the settlements was such that I was largely reliant on the cooperation of members of the community leadership, and while I actively requested an even distribution across community demographics I did not have the freedom to choose who I spoke with. In general I believe that I interviewed a good cross-section of residents. That said, I don't believe that the leadership would have suggested interviewing troublemakers or those whose opinions vastly countered that of the community at large. This was particularly true of the smaller community of Harry Gwala. At this point it was necessary to waylay the interviews until receiving the research clearance from the University's Ethics Committee. Then with this in hand, the interviews began.

At Harry Gwala, all the interviews were carried out at the participants' homes. However at the suggestion of the leadership, the initial interviews at Makause took place at the community office location. I found this unsatisfactory for several reasons, it meant that I wasn't able to observe people in their private spaces; and they didn't seem as willing to talk freely with the other residents around and as a result I was getting survey type answers. After the first day, I explained my reservations and the protocol was changed to match that at Harry Gwala. As a result the first few interviews from Makause were discarded. The interview protocol was as follows: at the beginning of each interaction I gave the participant a single page summary of my project for them to read and sign. I found this a good time to draw their plot, it gave them a few minutes to get used to me in their space and we would have a bit of casual conversation, hopefully managing a laugh, and it was a chance for me to observe them in their own space and time. It also gave them time to read without me right there (this was particularly relevant for those who struggled with reading or were illiterate and needed someone else in the household to read my project description to them) and thus seemed to diminish some of the participants nervousness or any perceived feelings of power that I might have over them. I found many participants to be nervous because I digitally recorded all interviews (though with their consent), thus I gave them the options to be named, anonymous or confidential in the final thesis document. This seemed to mitigate much of their fears.

In some cases a translator was required; as much as was possible the translations were carried out as the interview went on, however in some cases the transcript was translated at a later time. This second option had the drawback that I could not react and respond to or question what they were saying as the conversation took place.

The third phase took place nearly two years later in 2010. This gave the study a longitudinal component and also allowed the inclusion of two critical events. The first of these was my participation in a lawsuit brought by Mr. Nokotyana, a member of the Harry Gwala community leadership, on behalf of the Harry Gwala residents, against Ekurhuleni Municipality (Nokotyana vs. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and Others) to demand improvements in the provision of basic services for the settlement - water taps, refuse collection, high-mast lighting and interim basic sanitation. Using my landscape architecture training, I became a witness for the community in the area of water tap provision. I borrowed equipment from the University's maintenance department, and then community members and I measured the water pressure capacity of the existing taps (according to the law this was not to be less than 10 litres per minute, but some taps were considerably less) and measured the distance from those taps to the existing shacks to show that a significant number of households fell outside the allowable distance of 200 meters to a source of potable water in an urban area. This evidence was used in the case that was heard in the High Court of Johannesburg on 9 December 2008 where the issue of inadequate access to water and absence of refuse collection went unchallenged and the municipality was ordered to install more taps and resume refuse collection. The Court decided not to make any order in relation to sanitation and high mast lighting. The Harry Gwala community then decided to appeal the High Court's interpretation of the State's obligations in relation to basic service provision in informal settlements. As a result, the evidence regarding access to water was also used when the case was reheard in the Constitutional Court of South Africa on 19 November 2009. The Harry Gwala community thanked me for my efforts on their behalf with a naming ceremony - I was given the name Nombulelo, "the one who helps", and a traditional meal of boiled cow's head and *mieliepap*, which evidenced the depth of our working relationship.

Of interest to the study is that in response to the litigation and in preparation for the Constitutional Court hearing, the Municipality decided on an interim sanitation programme: one portable chemical toilet per ten families. This was to show their good intentions in the eyes of the Court. Contrary to the community's expectations (it was calling instead for one pit latrine per one or two households, which would have resulted in less of a burden on capital and operational budgets and would be safer for women and children and more dignified for everyone), this programme was endorsed by the Constitutional Court and was rolled out in Harry Gwala without the permission of the community (Lihlabi, personal communication, 25 July 2010). However, Makause, along with other settlements, declined the portable, chemical toilet programme on the grounds that it was inadequate and did not signal a commitment to permanent *in situ* upgrading. This toilet programme became an interesting thread in the study.

The second event was the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the preparations for which had dramatic consequences on some informal settlements and on informal settlement policies across South Africa. Chapters 02 and 04 discussed the advent of the World Cup in South Africa's cities in the context of urban residents' right to the city and the quality of aesthetic desired in the governments' quest for urban competitiveness in light of international investment. In my 2010 interviews I used it as an opportunity to open a conversation around residents' feelings of citizenship and inclusion in the face of this major event. The response was mixed, from feelings of lack of inclusion to one Makause resident who was an official World Cup volunteer. Overall, largely due to the innocuous locations of the two case study sites, it did not prove to have a major impact on the communities or their residents and therefore this study.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined my process in finding a fieldwork methodology that combined the discussion of literature review and the theoretical contemplations that have taken place in the previous chapters in order to rigorously examine and question my theory on the role that place plays in the lives of informal residents and, by extension, settlement upgrading. Having completed the study, I feel that this has been successful. Key parallel concepts have been addressed through the exploration of localised place in the case study informal communities using Deleuze and Guattari's

(1987) spatial language of rhythm, refrain, milieu and territory to elucidate an architectural/spatial language of the everyday users. The layers of this element of the study, which reflect the complexity of the communities, have been and will be further built up through sound, word and materiality in the cultural aspects of the study. Relph (1976) suggests that it is only 'By taking place as a multifaceted phenomenon of experience and examining the various properties of place' that we begin to understand it. Beyond existing conditions, exploring the residents' expectations can also be a source of insight as it speaks to the question of aesthetic and defamiliarisation discussed in Chapters 02, 03 and 04. And further, the investigation of those communities' extended place, both physically through Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) mechanism of rhizomic connections using "and" to diagram their notion of disjunctive synthesis; and abstractly through the examination of the relationships between micro and macro norms and trends that influence the locale.

The discussion has also described some of the challenges and limitations faced in my fieldwork experience. Some of these were foreseen in the design phase, such as those outlined by Burawoy (2009:72): 'domination, silencing, objectification, and normalization'; in other words, one could argue, the consequences of embedded power. As well were those challenges that were realised and had to be faced in the field: the influence of the community leadership; perceived intimidation by the participants because of my race and status; my reliance on requiring an escort or guide in the communities because of issues of personal safety and because of fear/reluctance on the part of the participants; and the pragmatic realities that many of those escorting me had jobs and families and therefore limited time to assist me in my research efforts. This final reason was particularly true in Harry Gwala. This said, as I explained above, for the most part these challenges were overcome in ways that did not put into question the credibility of the study. In fact, if looked at in light of understanding the social dynamics in the communities, some of the limitations, particularly those related to power, became ways to strengthen the study, as will be seen in Chapter 07.

chapter 06 THE CASE STUDY LOCALE: EKURHULENI AS URBAN CONTEXT AND THE FIELDWORK SITES

Introduction

This chapter goes beyond simply supplying the backdrop for the fieldwork phase. It examines Ekurhuleni's clear choice to follow international development norms and the trend of urban competitiveness, and then locates the case study sites in that context. The first section draws from local academic literature and previous discussions in this study to look at Ekurhuleni's fragmented spatial legacy. The city's long relationship between industry and housing reflects the region's mining complex. The demand for a large labour force drew workers from rural areas; this led to an unmet demand for housing resulting in informal settlement. The subsequent socio-spatial tension, culminating in the 1940s, represented the most insurgent subversive forces on the Ekurhuleni social landscape. They were perhaps the prime examples of the search for African autonomy and African leadership at the time' (Bonner and Nieftagodien with Mathabath, 2012:75). The section will show that this was just the beginning of the socio-spatial interaction between the mining complex and informal housing.

It then goes on to review post-apartheid development trends and how the city's struggles with housing, industry, civic identity and economic sustainability have impacted space. Finally, it considers the City's bold new plans for an 'aerotropolis' and if this strategy is compromising informal residents' right to the city (EMM, 2011b: 95). These contemporary plans include the controversial concept of urban branding and a spatio-economic transition to a specialised, transportation-based urban platform. The section lays out the City's efforts to overcome its cumbersome, amalgamated character through a socio-spatial restructuring that hopes to sustain economic growth and establish a centralising core for the metroplex. The discussion concludes with a review of its most recent planning documents for the proposed aerotropolis. The theme throughout is the spatial consequence of the City's ongoing interrelationships between itself, industry and its homeless residents.

The subsequent section scales down to localised descriptions of the spatial context in which the two case study sites are located and introduces the stakeholders involved in Ekurhuleni's informal housing sector. As will be shown, the sites reflect two different informal development typologies. Harry Gwala evolved in the 1980s as an overflow tent-town responding to the shortage of housing in the African township of Wattville, which was itself a late 1940s response to that era's informal housing crisis (Bonner *et al.*, 2012). This reflects a pattern that has been evident throughout South Africa's history of urban development. Makause, on the other hand, is a case of land invasion. Ekurhuleni's receding mining complex has produced urban vacancies, which homeless urbanites have transformed into what Yiftachel (2009a, 2009b) terms grey spaces. In the case of Makause, in the early 1990s occupiers took advantage of unused, well-situated land in a locale which afforded livelihood opportunities.

section 06.1 The study's urban context: Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

The two case study sites for this thesis are located in the spatial fragment of cityscape Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (formerly East Rand) (Figure 06.1). The city's planners and leadership acknowledge the problematic nature of its spatial patterns, which can be characterised into two categories: first, the largely inherited CBD/township duality, which parallels the urban form of its progenitor, Johannesburg (Karam and Sihlongonyane, 2006; EMM, 2011b). Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006:141) point out that the consequence of this urban form is a continuation of 'marginalised communities pushed to the periphery'; and second, the post-apartheid amalgamation of eastern Johannesburg into the Ekurhuleni metropolex.

Chapter 03 went into depth describing South African apartheid urban form, and the developmental history of Johannesburg from mining camps to major metropolis. It is worth briefly recapping some of this history in an effort to articulate Ekurhuleni's industrial and residential growth through the spatial consequences of its capital and racial links. Development of the Rand (the mining belt running east/west through the greater Johannesburg/Ekurhuleni area) was driven by the discovery of gold and then coal, and the subsequent need for an inexpensive workforce. The rapidly growing mining complex included railroad and road infrastructure to import supplies and

export product, which also served to sustain urban growth around the mines. Segregated African township housing was developed in response to an ever-increasing workforce; when this housing proved inadequate, homeless workers organised themselves, invaded land and built informal settlements. In their review of the region's development, Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006:142) comment on this evolution, stating that, while influenced by apartheid racial agendas and international trends, it was in fact 'colonial capital that...fundamentally influenced the spatial patterns'. The basis for this argument is the presence of exploitable natural resources (*ibid.*), which opens the door to the complexities that have shaped Ekurhuleni's landscape. As Bonner *et al.* (2012:XIV) point out, the cityscape reflects 'regional formations and political identities' from the anti-apartheid struggle; the influence of 'Independent unions organised across industries and industrial zones'; regional youth and women's organisations; and 'radical civics'. In other words, the landscape is a manifestation of diverse social processes.

Since its amalgamation in 2000, the East Rand region has become something of a spatial conundrum. The post-apartheid transformation of nine suburban cities into the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) (EMM, 2011b) has made the metroplex the fourth largest urban centre in South Africa. Compounding this, recent decades of shrinking mining industry has and continues to fuel a shift in the area's economic base. This downturn, subsequently, has had an impact on the extensive support industries, leaving behind unemployed workers and large tracts of vacant industrial land. In response, EMM began a campaign to remake itself with a new identity and spatio-economic focus. To this end, there is a new generation of spatial development plans currently being developed for implementation. However, Todes, Karam, Klug and Malaza (2010:419) raise concerns at Ekurhuleni's continued 'dominance of land use management as a focus for planning'. They suggest that embedded in these contemporary strategies is the city's legacy of capital-driven master planning. Echoing this, Bonner *et al.* (2012:207 quoting Marais, 2011:136) comment that many of the City's post-apartheid, post-GEAR policies are 'framed within a neoliberal paradigm', which they argue is "characterised...by the expansion of opportunities and options for private capital accumulation". These are both inline with Karam and Sihlongonyane's (2006) rationale for the City's developmental

history; additionally they suggest a logic to explain the perpetuation of its fragmented urban patterns, and a concern for its socio-spatial future.

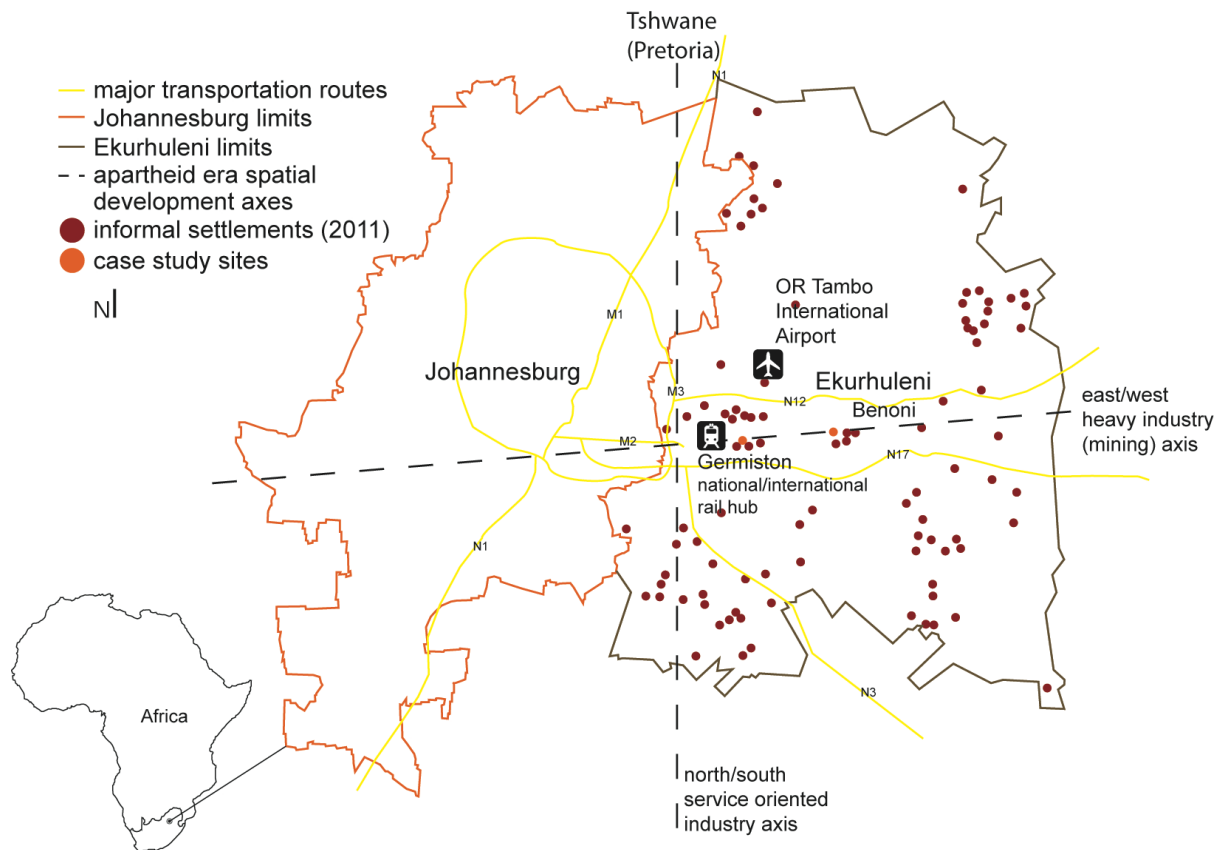


Figure 06.1: Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni spatial context map.

section06.1.1 A spatial background of Ekurhuleni

This section further explores Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality's legacy of segregational spatial patterns and the spatial choices that the City is now making with its current planning strategies. Based on the argument set out above, it examines if, in the post-apartheid era, the international agendas around industrial interests and urban competitiveness are impacting the City's urban form to a similar extent that the discovery of exploitable natural resources did in the colonial and apartheid eras. In other words, has the spatial character of the urban landscape transitioned from a racial city to a capitalist city, or as Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006) suggest, has it always been a capitalist city? To this end, they cite Harvey's (1985) concept that the built form of the capitalist landscape can be divided into 'fixed capital (...factories, highways and railways) and collective means of consumption (...houses, roads, health care facilities)' (Karam and Sihlongonyane,

2006:155). As this discussion is showing, this binary is consistent with the cityscapes of contemporary Ekurhuleni and the former East Rand. Underlining Harvey's theory, they go on to suggest that this 'fundamental imperialist spatial form is still used as a foundation for revitalising the economy in the area', and critically, they query 'whether deliberate actions are being taken to alter this reality' (*ibid.*:156). They conclude that while (in 2006) 'Issues of equity...may have been considered...they are not reflected in the implementation of development projects' (*ibid.*:156). This trend of unsubstantiated progressive rhetoric is something which will be evaluated in EMM's current and future urban plans in this study.

In the introduction to the 'Contextual and Legislative Framework' chapter, in EMM's publication *2010/2011 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework* (MSDF), the City outlines three tiers of influence that come to bear on the municipality's development efforts (EMM, 2011b:11), these include: nationally, the temporary National Planning Commission in an advisory role, and the 'monitoring and evaluation agency introduced after the 2009 General Election' (*ibid.*:11). Interestingly, the National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP), which is located in the Department of Human Settlements to promote informal settlement upgrading, was not mentioned. From the provincial tier, the City says, 'came a progressive directive that seeks to introduce a city region' (*ibid.*:11). Lastly, 'At local government level certain radical strategies and proposals on the Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Strategy...2025 were formulated and approved' (*ibid.*:11). One could argue that Ekurhuleni's temporary partnership with Cities Alliance in 2006-7 reflects a fourth level of influence, the international tier. This partnership, by extension, brought into play the development norms of UN Habitat and the economic policies of the World Bank.

With these macro influences in mind, it is worth reviewing the programmes that Ekurhuleni put forth in the last decade to address spatial form, urban development and informal settlement upgrading. In 2005, the *Ekurhuleni Growth and Development Plan 2025* (EMM, 2005) laid out the goal to provide all social and engineering infrastructure needed by 2025. This plan included the following broad strategies: urban densification; the integration of housing with infrastructure planning and

development; mixed income development; tenure options; and the elimination of hostels and backyard shacks through redevelopment (EMM, 2005). In 2006, EMM formed a temporary partnership with Cities Alliance, in pursuit of funding and technical assistance for urban development. To this end, Marrengane (2006:12), from Cities Alliance, explains that 'the main objective is [to] harness the informal settlement upgrading process as the driver for sustainable development - at the household level - through macro/micro linkages' and goes on to say that social capital should be at the centre of this effort. This alliance produced the Upgrading for Growth programme, in which Ekurhuleni pledged to 'incorporate a sustainable livelihoods approach, with...commitment to in-situ as a first priority' (Cities Alliance, 2008:24). The Cities Alliance document goes on to state (no doubt with the agreement of EMM) that the programme 'has the overall target of incrementally upgrading all informal settlements in the municipality by 2014' (*ibid.*:25). More recently, the *2010/2011 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework* (MSDF) outlines a major development shift, which will spatio-economically transform EMM into an international transportation hub. This strategy will be discussed in further detail as the section unfolds. However, worth noting here is the document's statement that 'For the informal settlements...the strategies are more on poverty alleviation in terms of hard issues (infrastructure development) instead of soft issues (social aspects)' (EMM, 2011b:86).

In addition to these municipal level programmes, the Presidency's *Outcome 8* policy stipulates that Gauteng's share of the national upgrade target of 400,000 households by 2014 is 96,800 households, of which a significant proportion will be in Ekurhuleni (Topham, 2012). According to Narsoo (2012; personal communication, 8 Nov. 2012), a governance advisor with NUSP, this policy recognises the unsustainability of current upgrading strategies and makes *in situ* upgrading the top priority. He states that the proposed strategy will include a shift in the economic pathway from the National Treasury to upgrading projects through a process of accreditation that empowers local governments (*ibid.*).

Narsoo (personal communication, 8 Nov. 2012) made it known that Ekurhuleni has officially stated that it is in favour of *in situ* upgrading. However, even this brief

chronicle of strategies brings into focus the extent to which Ekurhuleni incorporated infrastructure driven approaches paralleling the WB's, into its informal settlement and urban development plans. Upgrading for Growth could be considered a hiatus from this trend, with its emphasis around the concepts of social capital, however as Huchzermeyer (2011:174) points out, 'While Cites Alliance's website suggests that this "upgrading" methodology was "adopted", in July 2010 Upgrading for Growth had identified only three pilot projects, none of which had been "rolled out" as yet, and none of which ultimately could be *in situ* upgrades'. To date there are no *in situ* upgrading projects underway in Ekurhuleni.

section 06.1.2 The reinvention of Ekurhuleni: space and identity

EMM has a population of some 2.7 million (EMM, 2011a) with 70% of the population living in peripheral townships (EMM, 2011b). This is the highest rate of any major urban centre in South Africa (*ibid.*). Given this and drawing from the discussion in Chapter 04, one could argue that Fanon's (1961) warning, that if care is not taken in the colonial/post-colonial transition one elite will be exchanged for another and one oppressor for another, seems to have relevancy in this region. In this same vein, Bonner *et al.*'s (2012: 207) observation that in Ekurhuleni 'The promise of trickle down to the poor majority remains a slow and inconsistent drip'. This is underlined by the Gini-coefficient for South Africa, which reflects that it continues to be the most unequal society in the world. Significantly, the indicator puts Ekurhuleni among the most economically inequitable cities in the world (EMM, 2011b).

Bonner *et al.* (2012:197) comment that Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality's urban transformation *via* post-apartheid statute, was part of 'the country's most significant re-organisation of local authorities', aimed to 'unify the separate parts of the region into a centralised administration in order to facilitate the delivery of basic services, and to promote the institution of local participatory democracy'. The resultant amalgamated character does, however, present unique spatial challenges. Because it has no centralising core, EMM considers itself to be 'spatially a dysfunctional development area' (EMM, 2011b:87). It considers OR Tambo International Airport its biggest asset and, as it looks to the future, states the need for 'strategic spatial planning' (*ibid.*:87). The City's response to this, guided by the National Strategic Development Perspective's goal for the 'competitive advantage of a city', is outlined

in the 2010/2011 MSDF and other ensuing documents around the City's aerotropolis concept (EMM, 2011b:18). To this end, Ekurhuleni has committed at the metro planning level to the following spatial planning documents: the Core Economic Development Triangle; the Ekurhuleni Corridor Strategy; the Regional Retail Strategy; and the Ekurhuleni Residential Densification Strategy (*ibid.*). This developmental trajectory is in line with the Gauteng Strategic Development Perspective: 'to build Gauteng into an integrated and globally competitive region where the economic activities...complement each other in consolidating Gauteng as an economic hub of Africa and an internationally recognised global city region' (*ibid.*: 21).

Further, the City has recognised a need to develop a civic identity, which it believes can be developed into a unifying spatial core. Having identified the international airport as its strongest resource, it has looked to major airport cities such as Atlanta and others (EMM, 2011b). Paralleling this airport driven strategy is an economic core, which will spatially manifest in a multi-nodal development triangle to include the four towns: Kempton Park (OR Tambo International Airport and East Rand Mall); Germiston (national rail hub and civic precinct); Boksburg (residential, agricultural holdings and mining); and Benoni (mining). This is of particular interest because the two case study communities, Makause and Harry Gwala, are in Germiston and Benoni respectively. The east/west artery of Main Reef Road is also mentioned in the report as a key axis in the plan. This major thoroughfare is the south border of Makause, and runs 3.4 km north of Harry Gwala. In addition, the city has identified two development corridors, these are: the Tembisa - Kempton Park - Boksburg - Germiston - Kathorus Corridor and the Germiston - Daveyton Corridor; again the Germiston (Makause) will play a crucial role as the key crossing of these two corridors, while Harry Gwala is in the wider vicinity of the crossing (Figure 06.2).

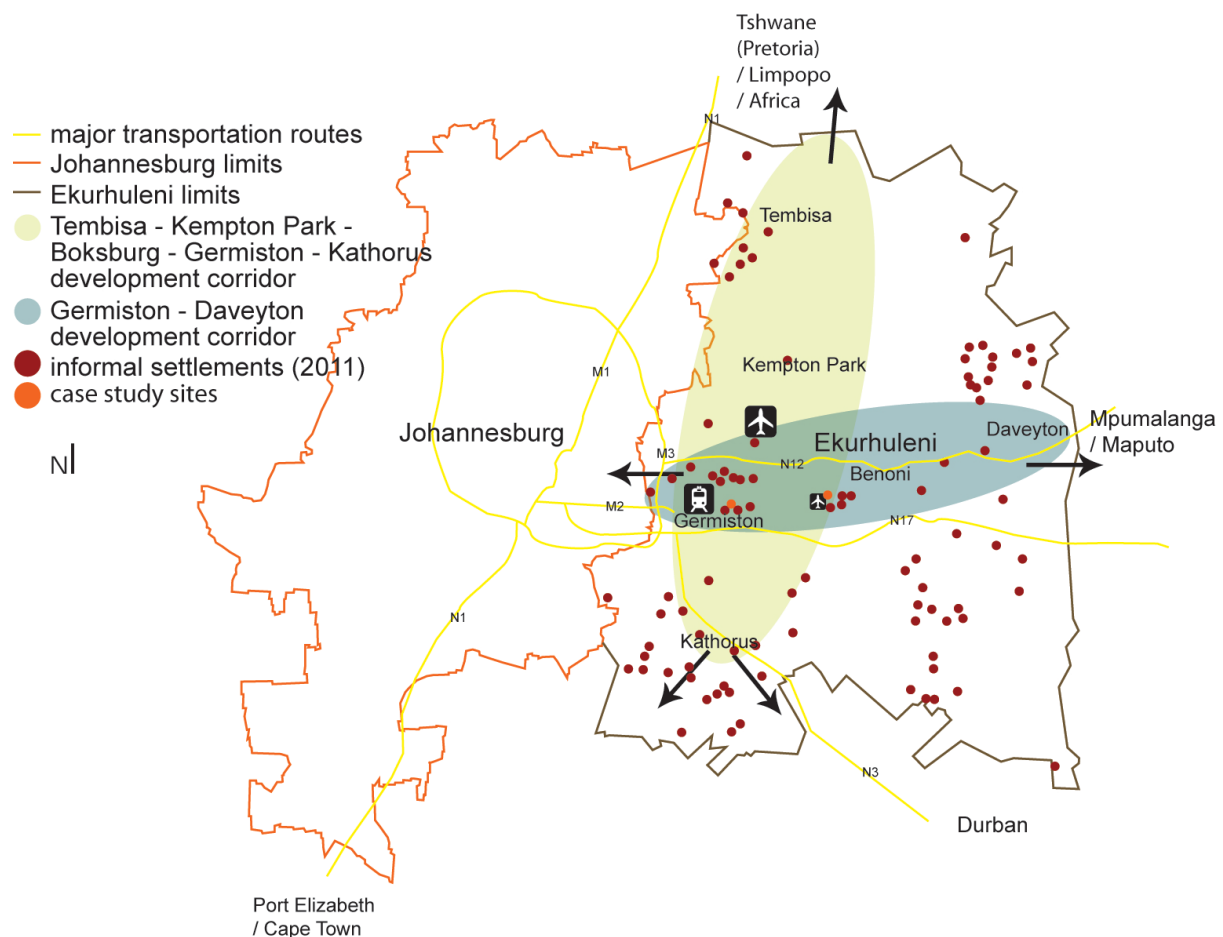


Figure 06.2: Ekurhuleni 2011 MSDF approved spatial development corridors.

Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006), Todes *et al.* (2010) and EMM (2011b) all acknowledge that the post-apartheid amalgamation and spatial development of Ekurhuleni has perpetuated the apartheid urban patterns of peripheralised, mass low-income (RDP) housing projects. Todes *et al.* (2010) suggest that this problematic trend could be addressed through a 'more focused approach' in two areas; first, 'more detailed planning in areas of strategic importance, development pressure, expected change, and areas where significant interventions are anticipated' (*ibid.*: 419). They argue that in this way localised issues are more likely to be addressed (*ibid.*). Their second recommendation is 'for a stronger focus on developmental planning linked to implementation as a way to improve conditions in poorer areas' (*ibid.*:419). EMM (2011b) concedes that the persistence of these spatial patterns has contributed to the marginalisation of vulnerable populations and in some cases the criminalisation of the consequential informal housing and informal economic development (*ibid.*). Yet, despite these admissions, the City continues to allow that 'spatial planning...in Ekurhuleni is informed by conventional and orthodox

methodologies and strategies which are uninformed of the unique social context of local environment' (*ibid.*:104). The City Development Department offers four factors, which they say contribute to this: 'the failure of the market to accommodate... unbankable consumers; the exorbitant cost of well-located land close to economic activity; the cost of rates and taxes close to the city centre; and the failure to implement and enforce government policy...[with] inclusionary housing to be implemented by the private sector' (*ibid.*:103). The *de facto* consequence is continued deprivation for the most vulnerable urban dwellers.

section06.1.3 Space and urban competitiveness: 'Africa Aerotropolis'

This section discusses the concept of urban competitiveness and looks at the Ekurhuleni's latest urban strategy, the spatio-economic transformation of the city into an aerotropolis. It examines the MSDF plan in light of the spatial prospects for the urban poor. The City states that the MSDF, which was approved 20 April 2011, outlines the 'long term proposals which will affect the spatial form for the entire Ekurhuleni area' (EMM, 2011b:11). Further, in the 2011 State of the City Address the Executive Mayor, Cir. Mondli Gungubele (2011:no page number), announced the buy-in of the plan at all levels: 'We know for a fact that our vision of an Ekurhuleni Aerotropolis is one that is shared by our Gauteng Provincial Government as well as the Government of South Africa'.

Given the economic downturn discussed above, Ekurhuleni, like many cities, is faced with remaking itself in an effort to remain competitive. This raises the question: what exactly is urban competitiveness? Begg (2002:3) suggests that it is a 'balance sheet metaphor' for a city's tangible assets, or capital producing business and infrastructure capabilities, and its intangible qualities, such as image, stability, social and cultural amenities. MVRDV (2002:45) adds to this:

'Theories on international trade state that the result of an economic integration will be the specialization of regions in those activities in which they have advantages, mainly in the relative prices of factors of production. After a process of smart and strategic specialization, and the change of trade patterns, economies can obtain a competitive advantage over others, and reach higher standards of living'.

Given this concept of competitiveness, what are Ekurhuleni's assets? The MSDF argues that its tangible assets include the international airport and its manufacturing and industrial base, and that while the mining industry is weakened there exists its

extensive legacy of transport infrastructure. It should also be added that there is a significant and underutilised workforce, which as Bonner *et al.* (2012) point out, has some of the highest unemployment rates in the country. The City has developed a corporate logo that speaks to these assets and to its developmental history and future plans (Figure 06.3). Again it is worth noting the thoughts of MVRDV (2002:47): ‘regions seek a new identity and specialisation, and the term “city branding” is becoming increasingly fashionable in urban planning. Will multinationals, one-day brand complete cities and regions, like the... “Nikeville”?...According to some, resistance to globalisation and “logolisation” is growing’. The City does not overtly refer to intangible assets, however inferences are made by its name, Ekurhuleni, a Tsonga word meaning the ‘place of peace’ (EMM, 2011a:7).



The logo was developed to represent the significant elements that have and continue to impact Ekurhuleni (EMM, 2011a):

- green: environment and agricultural
- black: coal mining industry
- yellow: gold mining industry
- blue: water and aviation

Figure 06.3: Ekurhuleni logo (reproduced from EMM, 2011a).

It is worth reflecting on two problematic issues, which Begg (2002) connects with urban competitiveness. First, the developing world’s dependence on unpredictable foreign investment, which he says leads to the second, that cities do not always hold the reins to their own destiny (*ibid.*). In an earlier publication, he states that what the city can “control” is the business environment that it grows and maintains, which will in effect dictate its ability to attract and maintain investors (Begg, 1999). His observations largely speak to the national and international macroeconomic variables at play in local urban development (Begg, 2002). This relationship is exemplified in the MSDF, with the acknowledgement of the local government’s responsibility to implement eight international development norms in the form of the MDG goals (EMM, 2011b). For the purpose of this study, the two among these with the most significance are: target 10, to halve the number of people without a source of safe potable drinking water; and target 11, to significantly improve the lives of slum dwellers. It is worth noting that these targets echo the transformational and development goals laid out in the socio-economic rights in South Africa’s Constitution, which obliges all tiers of government to work toward them. It is here in

the complex layering of constitutionality, international influence and levels of government that Huchzermeyer (2011) suggests tension lies.

Given the strength of Ekurhuleni's transportation-related complex (OR Tambo International Airport and Germiston International rail hub), it is not surprising that the City seeks to find its competitive edge through the adoption of Kasarda's (2008) aerotropolis concept. On the City's website, aerotropolis is defined as:

'a type of urban form comprising aviation intense business and related enterprises. It is similar in form and function to a traditional metropolis, where there is a central city core and its commuter-linked suburbs. An aerotropolis has an airport city as its core and is surrounded by clusters of aviation related enterprise' (EMM, 2012a:no page number).

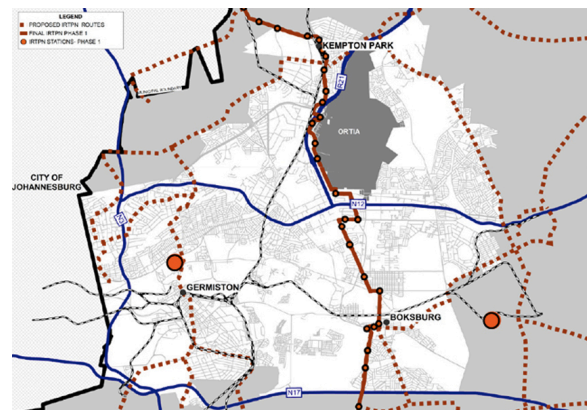
Kasarda (2008:50) makes the argument that the airport becomes the 'commercial anchor' for growth, competitiveness, and urban form. Further, he describes the spatial development around the airport, which is to include amenities for travellers and transport-related businesses, and 'airport edge cities' that support the needs (housing, shops, child care and so on) of the employees (*ibid.*:54). However, in their critique of the aerotropolis model, Charles, Barnes, Ryan and Clayton (2007) question the sustainability of this urban development model. They query the viability of a strategy that is based on a non-renewable resource, concentrates critical infrastructure, and assumes that air transport is the future (*ibid.*). Of particular interest is their citing of Campbell's (2005) study, which shows 'that there is no planning allowance within the aerotropolis model for dwellings that could house the working poor' (Charles *et al.*:1013:29). They argue that this reflects that the proposed airport edge cities cater to white-collar workers only (*ibid.*). This brings to mind MVRDV's (2002:29) earlier concern that, given a global/local model, many cities that have become major service nodes have also become 'spaces of increasing socio-economic polarisation'.

Of interest to this study is how the spatial consequences of this strategy conflicts or reinforces the city's political will to upgrade informal communities. To this end, it is important to examine the patterns of Ekurhuleni's changing face. Ekurhuleni's Aerotropolis Planning Committee (2012) is actively mapping the spatial ramifications of their proposed model (Figure 06.4). As the figure shows, the eastern case study site of Harry Gwala seems largely unaffected, however the western site of Makause,

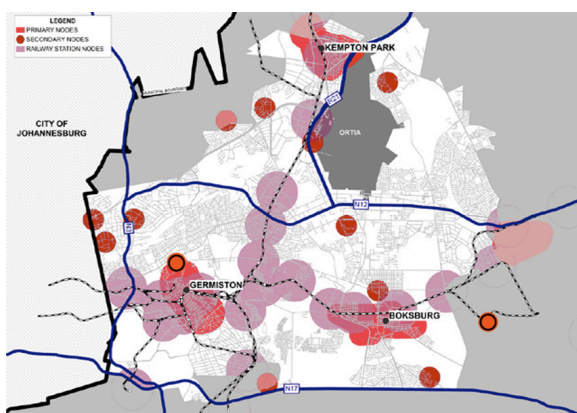
with its proximity to the national/international rail hub in Germiston, may be strongly impacted. It also shows that Makause is not alone, and there is a cluster of informal settlement in the Germiston region that could be equally affected. Bonner *et al.* (2012:209) non-committally suggests that 'Whether [the aerotropolis] will mitigate the deeper-seated inequalities and uneven development in the region, and especially overcome poverty in the poor black areas remains to be seen'.



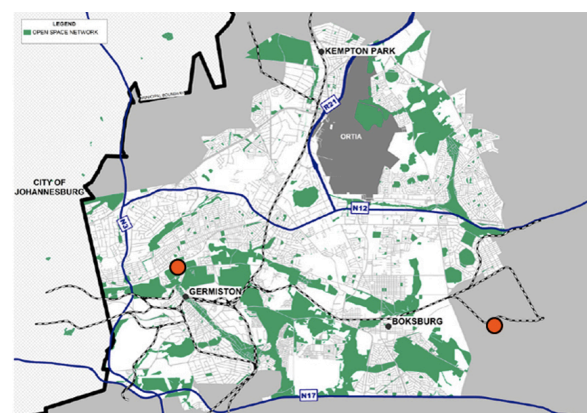
Ekurhuleni aerotropolis strategic linkages



movement network (road and rail)



nodal network



environmental network

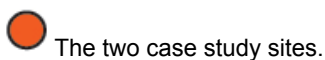


Figure 06.4: EMM's spatial plans for the aerotropolis development model (reproduced from Aerotropolis Planning Committee, 2012:5-8).

section 06.2 The case study sites: Harry Gwala and Makause informal settlements

The first part of this section draws on the contextual arena of the study's case sites to consider the stakeholders and the stakes involved with the region's informal settlement development. However, the bulk of the section evaluates the physical contexts of each case study settlement and chronicles their developmental histories. The communities' physical dimensions are articulated through the concepts of: delineated area; core and periphery; geographic and ecological properties; and physical structures and networks that have been implemented in the area by people (MVRDV, 2002). As this spatial review unfolds, it becomes evident that the boundaries of South Africa's formal and informal economies and housing are not as clear as the formal/informal development model discussed in earlier chapters suggests. These contextual descriptions become the foundation for the ethnographic data presented in the next two chapters.

As these case studies are explored, two points are worth keeping in mind: first, that these communities represent 2 of an estimated 112 informal settlements in Ekurhuleni and that in many South African cities 40-60% of the workforce lives in informal settlements (EMM, 2011b); and second, as the following chapters will show, that residents must find a balance between the social capital drawn from a sense of place in their community and the livelihood benefits associated with location. As Bonner *et al.* (2012:225) discovered, 'these trends have been important in defining life in poor communities, which are far more complex and dynamic than the one-dimensional images depicted in the popular media'.

Figure 06.5 locates the two case study informal settlements, Harry Gwala and Makause, within the Ekurhuleni region. I selected two sites from the same municipality so that appropriate comparisons can be drawn, as they are under the same municipal policies and are, therefore, commensurate. Further, the commonality of municipal context can contribute to potential transferability, as opposed to generalisation, of the findings to Ekurhuleni's *in situ* upgrading efforts and the upgrading dialogue at large. My intent is not that these two be considered representative of all informal settlements, but rather to explore the unique character

of space and place in each as a means to understand informal social processes and community functionality.

Table 06.1 outlines the stakeholders. Figure 06.4 shows the greater urban context in which the case study informal settlements exist and the distribution of informal settlements within Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Further, this figure overlays EMM's current spatial development strategies on the apartheid era development axes to show the perpetuation of this spatial legacy. And finally, it indicates the two locations, Chief Albert Luthuli (18 km) and Tsakane (40 km), where EMM attempted to relocate the residents of Harry Gwala and Makause respectively.

Table 06.1: Stakeholders and Stakes

Stakeholder groups	Stake in informal settlement upgrading
Informal settlement residents	Fulfillment of housing, livelihood and leisure needs (as defined in Chapter 04)
Ekurhuleni (municipal)	Spatial planning and urban competitiveness; Aerotropolis Africa; MDG goals; eliminating housing backlog
Gauteng (provincial)	Attracting international investment; consolidating Gauteng into an African and global transportation and business hub
South Africa (national)	Developing principals of a development state that rely to a large extent on the unfettered operation of markets, attracting international investors; resolve the housing backlog in line with the constitution; monitor and evaluate strategies at the provincial and municipal levels
Cities Alliance, UN Habitat, World Bank (international)	MDGs, particularly target 11; national and local monitoring; sustainable development through macro/micro linkages; supporting longterm capital investment; technical support

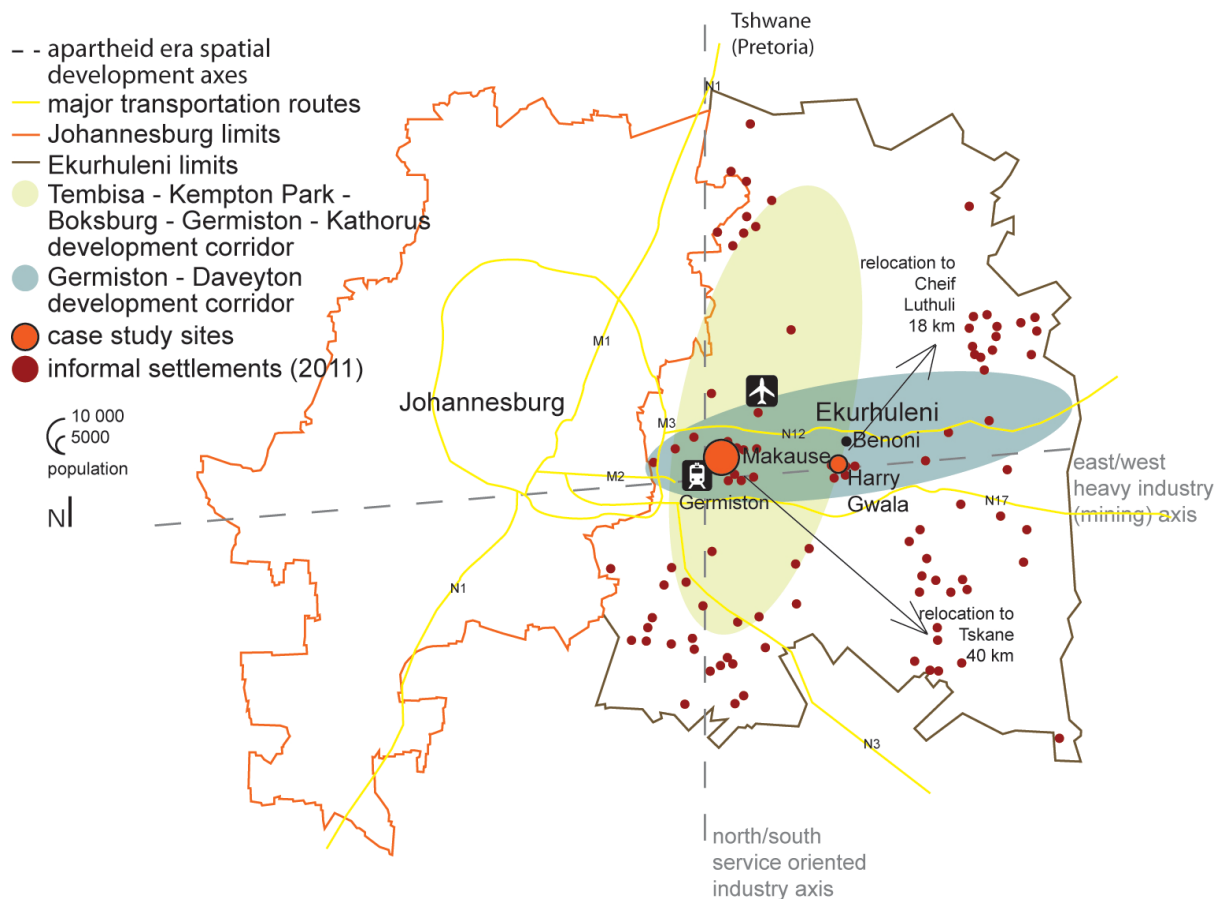


Figure 06.5: The case study sites in historical and current spatial context.

section06.2.1 Harry Gwala

The development of African townships to house labour in the Benoni (EMM) area dates back to the early 1900s. In 1912 black residents from Benoni were forced to relocate to the peripherally located township of Twatwa, a community named for the 'sound of the bullets which rang out in a relocation which turned violent' (EMM, 2011a:10). The overflow from Twatwa formed the shantytown Wattville, which was subsequently consolidated to a township (*ibid.*). The land which is now the Harry Gwala informal settlement was originally occupied in the mid-1980s to accommodate overflow from Wattville and the pressures of rapid urbanisation. In 1993, Alexander Kau and the Tent-town Residential Committee approached the Wattville Town Council to gain permission to consolidate the community, and in an official Wattville Town Council letter dated 24 November 1993, the Committee was granted the right to 'develop Portions 29 and 68 for residents purposes' (Mr. Anderson, personal communication, 24 November 1993). To date this has not occurred. Currently, the

community shows signs of destabilisation from the threat of an unknown future. The dwellings are deteriorating after nearly thirty years, but the residents hesitate to invest in further consolidation due to the lack of tenure security (personal communication Siphethu, 3 December 2007; Ntombela, 3 December 2007).

The City's July 2012 aerial enumeration estimated that the community now has a population of 1250 households (Mr. Lihlabi, personal communication, 3 Nov. 2012). The majority of the settlement is on municipally owned land and has been seeking official consolidation since 1993. In 2004, a section of the community was forcibly cleared and EMM made plans to relocate the residents, without consulting the community or its leadership. The relocation was stopped by court order. In 2006, the cleared portion of originally invaded land that is privately owned by Eastco Mining (Figure 06.6) was fenced off. EMM cited dumped steel shavings as a health risk. Lale, Mofokeng and van Dijk (interview, 26 Feb. 2008) from Ekurhuleni Department of Human Settlements described this action as part of a private/public joint venture between EMM and Eastco. The project involved Eastco owning land and Ekurhuleni doing the planning (*ibid.*). However, members of the Housing Department acknowledged that this plan ended in failure, from what they stated was an act of bad faith and a hidden agenda on the part of Eastco (*ibid.*). The result was that the displaced occupants were either relocated to Chief Albert Luthuli township 18 kilometres away (Figure 06.5), or became backyard tenants in Harry Gwala. This example illustrates how macrolevel agendas working within the realm of local planning decisions have spatial consequences at the community and individual levels.



Figure 06.6: Red boundaries indicate forced clearing and shack evictions in Harry Gwala in 2004 and the subsequent fencing of the privately owned area (aerial photo courtesy of EMM Department of Housing).

Figure 06.7 shows that the community is well situated for transportation on major roads and commuter rail lines. Further, it is located within walking distance to jobs and social services. Nearby, large residential, commercial and light industrial areas provide livelihood opportunities, for both full-time and piece work. Another informal settlement, Emandleni, lies across the abandoned rail line to the north (see Figure 06.7). There are two distinctive landmarks within Harry Gwala's immediate locale. The first is the Oliver Tambo Cultural Precinct with the adjacent OR Tambo's gravesite in Tamboville. This cultural amenity was opened and made a National Heritage Site in 2012. EMM considers it a major tourism destination, as it houses the OR Tambo Narrative Centre, multi-purpose arts and crafts workshops, and an outdoor amphitheatre. In addition, it is a showcase for sustainable building techniques and includes an R8.4-million (US\$1-million) solar power plant.

The second is Leeupan Lake Open Space, immediately adjacent to the southeast. EMM 'is currently investing in [this area]...to promote recreational, educational and environmental sustainability' (Nokotyana vs EMM, 2012:14). The pan has unique environmental value because it is an annual migratory destination for the African Flamingo. As part of the ongoing efforts for *in situ* upgrading, in 2009 the Constitutional Court ordered that Gauteng Department of Human Settlement procure an environmental impact assessment study for the *in situ* upgrading of the settlement (Nokotyana vs EMM, 2012). This was conducted by Envirolution Consulting; however, by order of the Province, the study was done for a high density housing project on the Harry Gwala site. Approval was granted on 28 February 2012, stating that it would not take away from the environmental value of the land (Nokotyana vs EMM, 2012). As the following chapters will show, this pan is considered an amenity by many of the residents. In further preparation for development, a Phase 1 Geotechnical Investigation was ordered due to the community's proximity to former mining activities in which the National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBR) states 'the site itself does not appear to be undermined, no restrictions apply to...potential development in terms of undermined ground' (Nokotyana vs EMM, 2012:13).

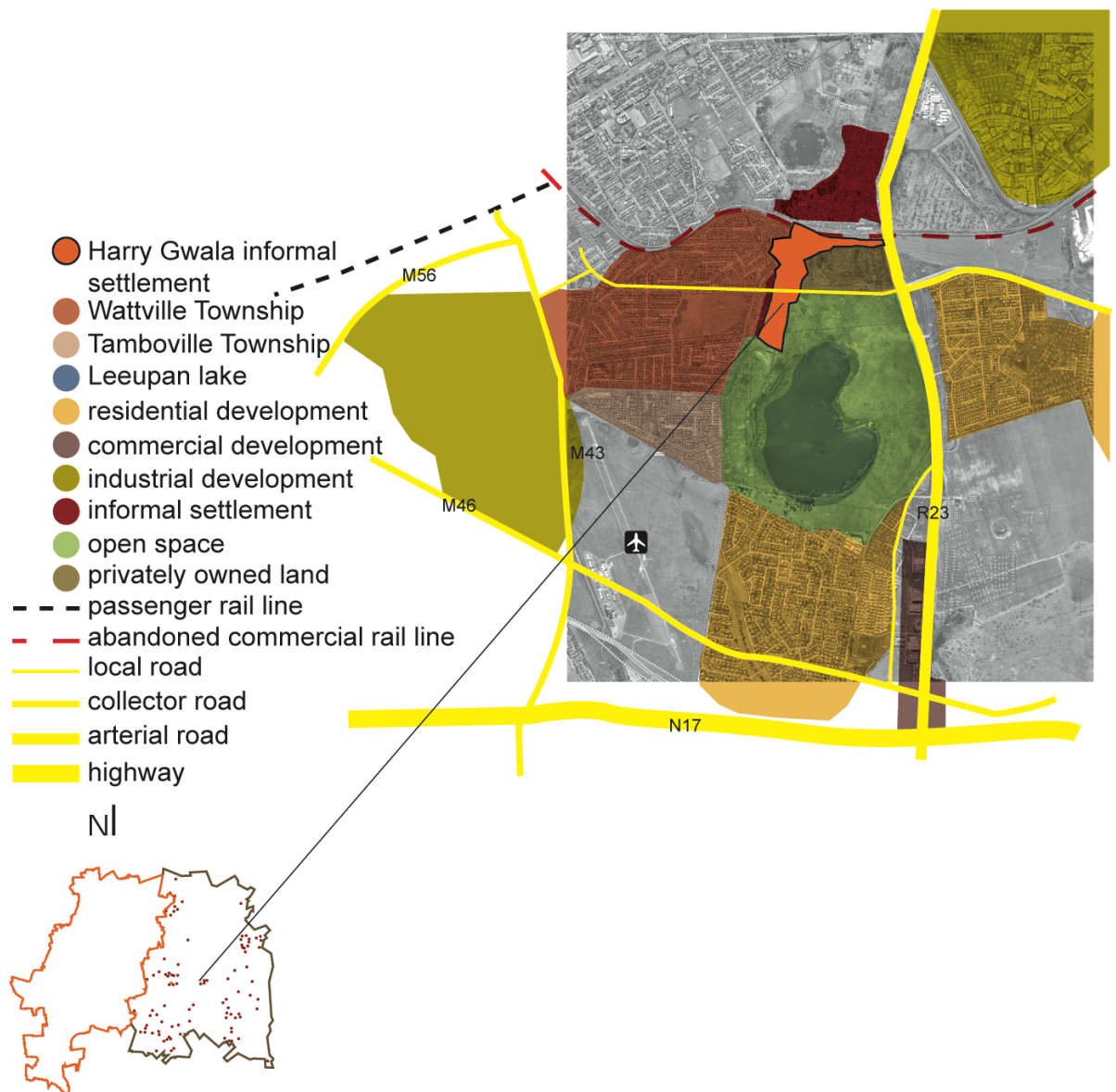


Figure 06.7: Harry Gwala's spatial context showing the primary areas into which the community reaches to access livelihood and other needs and which impact or have potential to impact the community (aerial photo courtesy of EMM Department of Housing).

section06.2.2 Makause

Makause was established in the mid-1990s on well-located, privately owned land and has grown to a population estimated at over 10,000 residents. Main Mining is the major landowner and has a good relationship with the community. It is also one of the residents' primary employers. The settlement is well located close to Primrose and Germiston CBDs (Figure 06.8). Primrose is within easy walking distance and is the source of medical, police and shopping support. The nearby residential areas are a source of permanent and piece work. Germiston is the oldest city in EMM and the seat of the legislative offices of Ekurhuleni and as such it is the location of Makause's primary connection to the Department of Human Settlements.

Germiston's spatial development did not evolve around mining directly but around the railroad which supported the mines; this rail hub rapidly became the largest in southern Africa (EMM, 2011a). It became the core for an expanding area of manufacturing and light industry (*ibid.*). Currently, as mentioned above, it has been earmarked as a critical element of the city's aerotropolis development plan. It will be shown in the following chapter that residents of Makause and other nearby informal settlements supply key informal support to local companies through providing recycling and other services.

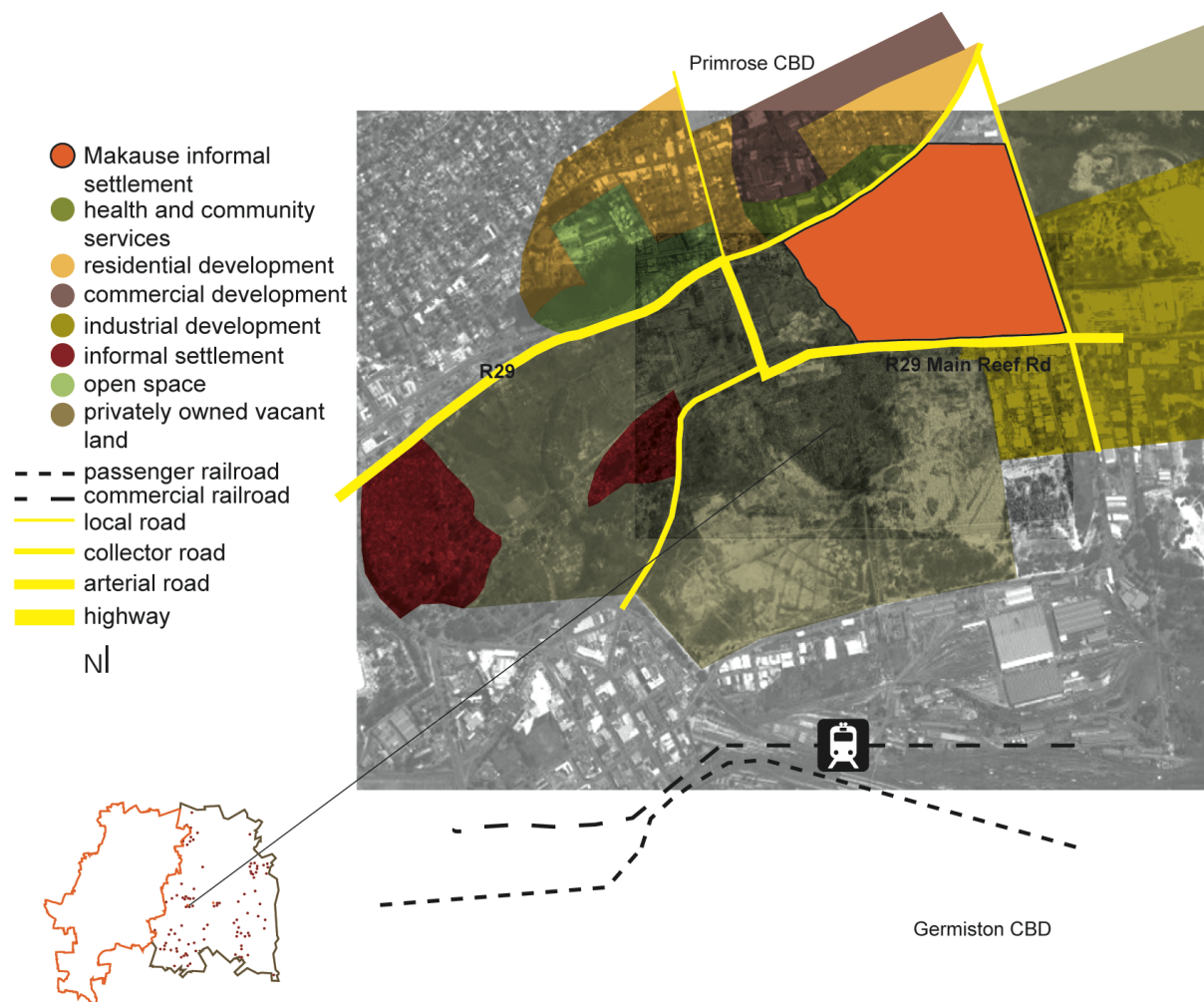


Figure 06.8: Makause's spatial context showing the primary areas into which the community reaches to access livelihood and other needs and which impact or have potential to impact the community (aerial photo courtesy of EMM Department of Housing).

There are geotechnical concerns regarding the viability of land use in this area because of its proximity to current and past mining. This was brought to the fore in 2006 with the death of a Makause resident in a collapsed sinkhole. After the incident, Ekurhuleni Municipality devised a plan to relocate the residents to Tsakane

Extension 10, a formal settlement 40 km to the southeast, on the city's periphery (Figure 06.5). The majority of residents refused to be relocated. Those who did agree to move found none of the promised houses or services at their new location, instead finding themselves in 'a treeless and dry landscape on an open veld...their new homes were made of four poles and plastic bags' (Bangerezako, 2007). In February of 2007, the relocation initiative turned violent. Forced evictions took place and as Figure 06.9 shows a 200 meter swath demolished nearly 2300 shacks (Bonner *et al*, 2012). This was carried out at the ruthless hands of the Red Ants, an independent security firm based in Gauteng that is regularly contracted by municipal governments to carry out forced relocations. They are feared and readily recognisable by their red uniforms. Makause residents and the community's leadership committee became suspicious of these actions because the clearing was not in the area of the sinkhole. Knowing their rights through the constitutional mandate for consent to relocate, they obtained legal council and the evictions were stopped by court order. There is an ongoing court case to settle the matter. This has changed the spatial dynamic of the community, effectively splitting it, thus negatively affected its cohesion.



Figure 06.9: Red boundary indicates area of forced evictions and shack clearing in Makause, 2007 (aerial photo courtesy of EMM Department of Housing).

Those who refused to go argued that the peripheral location of Tsakane imposed additional transport fees of R18 each direction, that the promises at the new site were unfulfilled, and that it would cause the breakup of their community. They pointed to the existence in their present location of: community-based initiatives in childcare and old age care; an HIV/AIDS support group that has been established

with cooperation from the Municipality and a NGO; relationships between Makause and the local SPAR, C-Cell, and other businesses that sponsor activities and sport events in the informal settlement; and a soccer field which is the only open space in the community, where training and tournaments are held. All of these social amenities contribute to unifying the community.

Conclusion

This chapter primarily set up the context of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality as the arena in which the two case study sites exist. After a decade filled with changing development tactics, it has been shown that EMM now has a clear agenda for spatio-economic transformation through the Aerotropolis Africa strategy. To this end, the region is working toward goals of urban competitiveness and global recognition in an effort to attract international investment. Given the discussion here and in Chapter 02, this trajectory is in line with current international urban development norms. However, questions of the aerotropolis strategy's economic sustainability and socio-economic equity have been raised. A review of EMM's published planning documents has not made clear how local informal settlements will be impacted. Makause and other settlements in the Germiston locale are particularly vulnerable to the aerotropolis plan because of their close vicinity to Germiston's rail hub, a major spatial node in that plan. Additionally, Harry Gwala is situated in the proposed east/west development corridor. Both Karam and Sihlongonyane (2006) and Todes et al (2010) point to the region's history of capital driven spatial planning, and express concern that the City is not adequately addressing the socio-economic rights of the urban poor in ongoing development projects. The City's current planning documents are full of rhetoric acknowledging the problematic nature of apartheid era, peripheral township spatial patterns and yet, as was shown, in reality this fragmented urban trend continues.

Section 06.2 established the physical characterisation of the case study locales and their developmental histories. In addition, it has shown that there is relational significance between the settlements and the surrounding region. The next two chapters will use fieldwork data to examine the social processes that take place within these communities, on their edges, and within their locales. The ongoing

layering of need, exclusion, political agency, democratic right to the city, existing socio-economic conditions, spatial use, and so on that is building up through the chapters continues to define the complexity of life in informal communities.

chapter 07 UNDERSTANDING INFORMAL SETTLEMENT THROUGH PHYSICAL CHARACTER, SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND DWELLING

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two that build on each other to address the fieldwork phase of my study. Part of the extended method proposed in the Chapter 05 is the comparison of micro and macrodynamics on the area of research. Discussions in the previous chapters have presented various macro-influences on informal space; the predominant one has been urban competitiveness. The empirical data presented here describes the social actions that shape space at the community level. Bringing these two together, the study reflects on how micro and macro spatial production influence informal settlement upgrading. The research centres around the character and functionality of informal settlement in the the case study sites of Harry Gwala and Makause. Notions of spatial core and boundary are used to investigate the dynamic of informality and its engagement with the city. The language used to explore this is drawn from Deleuze and Guattari's suggestion that we should upend our belief that places are fixed, as discussed in Chapter 04 (Wise, 2000; Janz, 2002; Stengers, 2005). To this end, the study considers place as a collection of socio-cultural processes; in other words, as understood through Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the nomadic and their language of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory. A fluidity of character is implied, requiring a shift from what something is to how it is used or experienced. This way of thinking lead Janz (2002:8) to state 'that any list of place-attributes will not succeed' which connects back to the discussion in Chapter 02, and Rouse (1991) and Clifford's (1994) suggestion of the possibility of defining space by action rather than ideology. It also links to Mbembe's (2000) comments that the contemporary definition of boundary is a post-colonial legacy in the African context and that a more appropriate interpretation of edge is imbrication. Given this, he describes the bounds of formal and informal through spatial overlap created by residents' habits. My use of Deleuze and Guattari's work in the South African context is built on the foundation of Janz's (2002) and Mbembe's (2004) papers that made the connection between these European-based concepts and the conditions of post-colonial Africa.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987:382) suggest that nomads "make the desert no less than they are made by it". In this chapter, using their language of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory, I attempt to use a similar logic to suggest that 'urban informals' (AlSayyad, 2004:9) make the city no less than they are made by it. In other words, I use empirical evidence to show that informality is not a fragment in the city, but rather, through its functionality it is in fact imbedded in the city. This chapter begins with an account of the physical characterisations that define the case study settlements, following up from Chapter 06. The process of informality encountering formality is described, along with the subsequent *milieus* or 'space of shape [s]' (Wise, 2000:297) that are formed, altered, dissolved and re-formed as informal residents territorialise the city through their need based interaction with it. The next section brings in the layer of social interaction and how it defines spatial boundaries; it considers the settlement edge and how reciprocal actions at the formal/informal interface reveals a fluidity which is quite different from the formal/informal model reviewed in Chapter 02. Section 07.3 again uses the language of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), rhythm and refrain, to show how the residents' habits of daily use define their living spaces, which leads to an analysis of living space morphologies found in the communities and what shapes them. Further, I look at how the use of "home" space defines the overall layout of the communities' development of public and private spaces. The review of these two settlements reflects the diversity of spatial production in different informal settlement typologies thus cautioning against the generalisations of informal settlement practices.

section 07.1 Defining the settlements' spatial territory and character through residents' habitual engagement with urban built form

This section draws together the theoretical concepts of *milieu* and territory, as discussed in Chapter 04, with the fieldwork data on the informal residents' efforts to engage with the formal city. This includes not only residents' *de facto* activities, but also their interaction with the socio-spatial legacy of apartheid era urban design. In this context, the notion of boundary is not as clearly definable as the physical dimensions were in Chapter 06. Instead, this concept of boundary is drawn and disappears, is drawn again and disappears again, based on the actions of the residents. I derived this concept of boundary by connecting: Deleuze and Guattari's

(1987) description of territorialisation and deterritorialisation; Mbembe's (2000:263) notion of imbrication, or 'multiple spaces constantly joined [and] disjoined'; and Roy and AlSayyad's definition of urban informality as 'an organising logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself...suggest[ing] that informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another' (Roy, 2005:148 citing Roy and AlSayyad 2004). Placed together, these concepts bring informality into focus as a process rather than as an object. The section examines how this 'organising logic' as a spatial negotiation occurs as the community engages with the city.

The first half of my research question asks: What are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal communities in relation to residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours; and what is the significance of these to *in situ* upgrading approaches? Burawoy's (2009:43) methodological notion of reconstruction states that we should 'begin with our favourite theory but seek not confirmations but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory'. At the heart of my research question was the social aspect of place; however, what the residents have taught me is that physical needs and social needs cannot be separated, which parallels the concept that space and place connect to define each other (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). In both Harry Gwala and Makause, virtually equal numbers of interviewees identified either social connections or location as the most important element of their community life. The interviews elucidated that physical (locational) connections to a place are crucial to livelihood endeavours, while social aspects can contribute to both livelihood and well-being. Harry Gwala resident Fikile's (Ms. Nkosi, interview, 6 September 2008) comment underlines this: 'Amenities are nearer, roads are near I am able to get transport whenever I go to work or need to go to town for shopping and things like that. At the same time this is my home'. This revelation caused me to revisit and expand the research question in this section to include the locational aspect of space.

section 07.1.1 Territorialising the formal city: how informal residents address exclusion and fragmentation

The character of the spatial regions around the two case study communities was largely covered in section 06.2. However, here I use interview data to develop

residents' habitual patterns of engagement with that physical region. Given Wise's (2000) description of *milieu* as a transient spatial form shaped by activity, and territory as the mappable space produced by multiple *milieus*, I began think of needs, and how residents procure them, in terms of territory.

The interview data defined four major categories of physical need: employment, education, healthcare and spirituality. Further, the issue of walking versus having to take a taxi became prevalent in both communities. Makause resident Nomsa (Ms. Khoza, interview, 23 July 2010) points out that 'If they relocate us it would be a big problem to us because we would have to travel and pay money to come looking for jobs...here some people already know us, if they have work they will give it to us or places of employment where they can just phone us and get us back when there is an opportunity'; it was made clear that, whether for physical needs or social needs, being able to carry out daily routines without transport fees is critical. Makause residents singled out the towns of Primrose and Germiston; similarly, Harry Gwala residents identified Actonville and Wattville as their regular destinations, all of these are within walking distance. Catriene (Ms. Mdlalose, interview, 6 September 2008) describes her spiritual tie to the physical location of Harry Gwala: 'I have a great connection with my ancestors, their graves are just around the corner [at Wattville Cemetery], so I can be able to pay my respects'. Figures 07.1 - 07.4 represent the physical manifestation of residents' socio-economic activities.

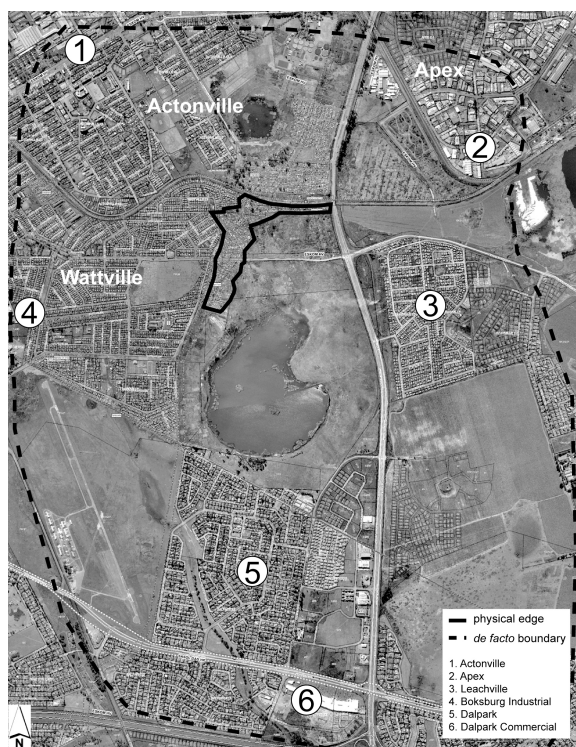


Figure 07.1: The *de facto* boundary for employment opportunities in the pedestrian realm.

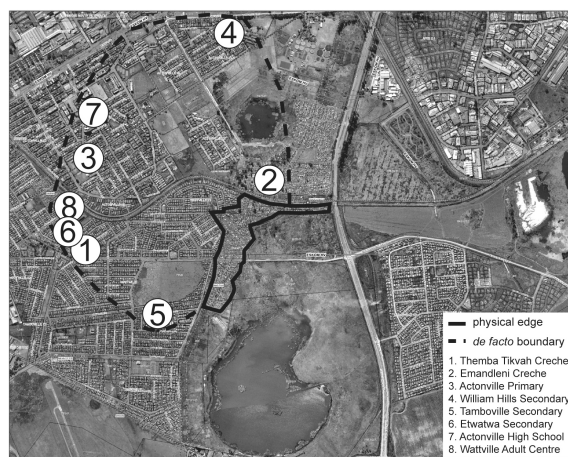


Figure 07.2: The *de facto* education boundary of Harry Gwala showing the educational institutions used by settlement residents.

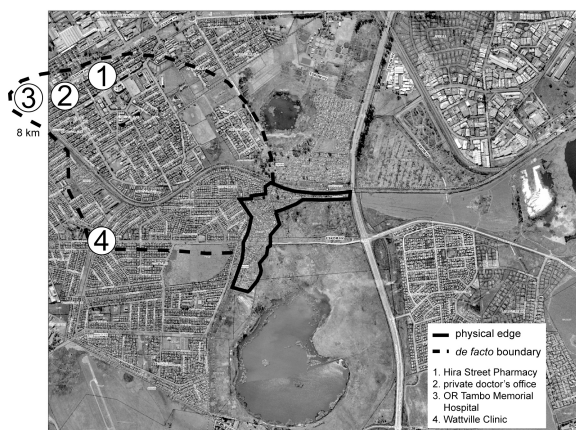


Figure 07.3: The *de facto* healthcare boundary of Harry Gwala showing the clinics, pharmacies and hospital used by the residents.

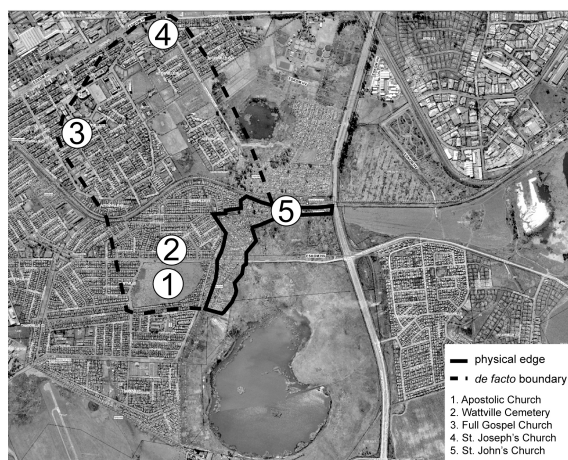


Figure 07.4: The *de facto* spiritual boundary of Harry Gwala reflecting the churches and cemetery frequented by residents.

What does territorialisation look like at a larger scale? Beyond the realm of walkability, residents primarily use mini-bus taxis. Chapter 03 described this public transport system as a form of spatial occupation or insurgency (Hanson, 2006), given this, it is not just the residents but the taxis themselves that become spatial actors. The photo in Figure 07.5 shows a typical taxi at the informal taxi stand on Harry Gwala's northern edge; many of the drivers live in the settlement. I suggest that the taxi's socio-spatial function can be seen as twofold. First, it expands the

territory of the residents, to such regular destinations as Johannesburg and Soweto. As part of this process, localising *milieus* form between taxi and rider through the use of place-specific, nuanced hand signals that identify destinations (taxi driver, personal communication, 21 February 2008). In this way, ‘urban informals’ (AlSayyad, 2004:9) and taxis connect home locations to destinations throughout the region, effectively territorialising it. In a second function, the taxis create a temporal dynamic, or refrain, to the fluid processes of *milieu* and territorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). *Milieus* change with the well-known sounds and consistent schedule of the taxis. In this way, the drivers’ insistent use of their horn to signal their movements to potential riders at regular hours of the workday can be seen as ‘frames of reference’ to place, as described by Madanipour (1996:25).

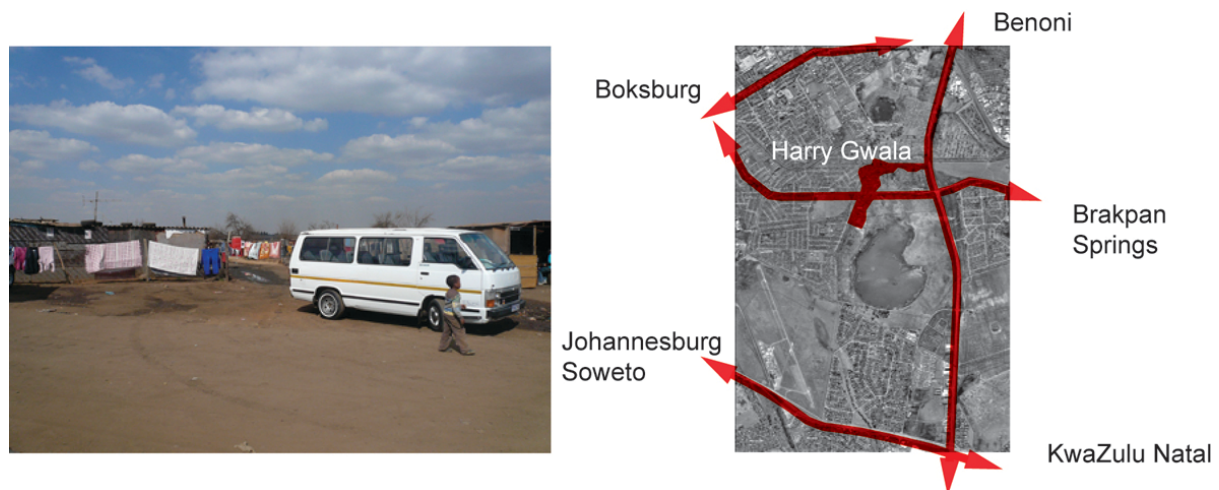


Figure 07.5: The urban taxi as a purveyor of formal/informal engagement.

These illustrations, using connections that are based on relationships of socio-economic need, begin to articulate an alternative language of informal settlement boundaries. It suggests a potential move away from methodologies that can be problematically ‘root[ed] in Western-centric intellectual traditions’ (Liggett, 2009:101) to an approach more suited to the context.

section 07.1.2 Informal settlement typologies, CBD versus township: do residents take cues from the surrounding environment?

I have just described residents’ engagement with the urban landscape. Now I turn that around and ask, whether, as Relph (1976) suggests, the residents take cues from the surrounding built form. What instigated this inquiry was the stark contrast in my findings on productive gardening as part of residents’ social and livelihood efforts in the two settlements.

While a generalisation from just two case study sites may prove of little significance, both Burawoy (2009) and Flyvbjerg (2011:305) give credence to the idea that 'purely descriptive, phenomenological case study without any attempt to generalise can certainly be of value...and has often helped cut a path toward scientific innovation'.

Harry Gwala and Makause represent two of the different informal settlement typologies in South Africa. One, Harry Gwala, is a legacy of apartheid era urban planning; it is the occupying of land, often as a result of overflow, adjacent to established and often peripherally located black townships. The history of this process was touched on in Chapters 03 and it links to Harry Gwala in Chapter 06. The other typology is the invasion of well situated, centrally located land, evidenced by Makause's proximity to Germiston CBD. What is of interest here is not these typologies as such, but the phenomenological observation of urban farming that is reflected in my fieldwork data.

Figure 07.6 shows examples of interviewed households in Harry Gwala with gardens; over half have a vegetable garden, and nearly half have a medicinal garden. In addition, I documented the keeping of chickens (kept for meat and eggs), ducks, geese, goats and pigs. In contrast, none of the households interviewed in Makause had a productive garden, and I saw no livestock. Does this reflect the physical regions within which the settlements are located and their level of urbanisation? The maps in Chapter 06 show that both settlements are adjacent to large open spaces; however, Harry Gwala's is significantly larger and has a pastoral aesthetic, while Makause's is used as a construction waste dump and consequently has the aesthetic of an abandoned lot.

Also worth considering is van Averbeké's (2007) study on agrarian practices in informal settlements in Tshwane where he cites the easy access to water and the availability of space as the two major barriers to urban farming. Certainly, Harry Gwala is less dense and there is slightly more access to water, although women from both communities tell of waiting an hour and a half or more in line for water. However, I would argue that Makause's density is not so high as to prevent people from having productive gardens, and indeed, a small fraction do have ornamental gardens. There are two reasons that this contrast is noteworthy: first, there is a significant difference in the perceived aesthetic in the communities; and second, one can witness van Averbeké's (2007:341) findings that urban farming contributes significantly to informal residents' well-being: 'the benefits of urban farming in the livelihood of participants extended far beyond the material gain'. His study found that this is particularly true for women and that, although the actual livelihood gain was not very significant, the social gain was worthy of attention (*ibid.*). In Harry Gwala, all of the interviewee's medicinal gardens and most of their vegetable gardens are tended by women. Van Averbeké goes on to suggest that for this reason, urban farming should be given serious consideration in the

planning process for societies that are transitioning from rural to urban (*ibid.*). Interestingly, the Harry Gwala case study, while admittedly small, shows that around half of the urban farming is practiced by its non-transitional, female populations as well: women born in the adjacent township of Wattville. Given that this contradicts van Averbeké's (2007) findings, it would be interesting to investigate further if residents are responding to different cues in the local landscape and shaping their behaviours accordingly.

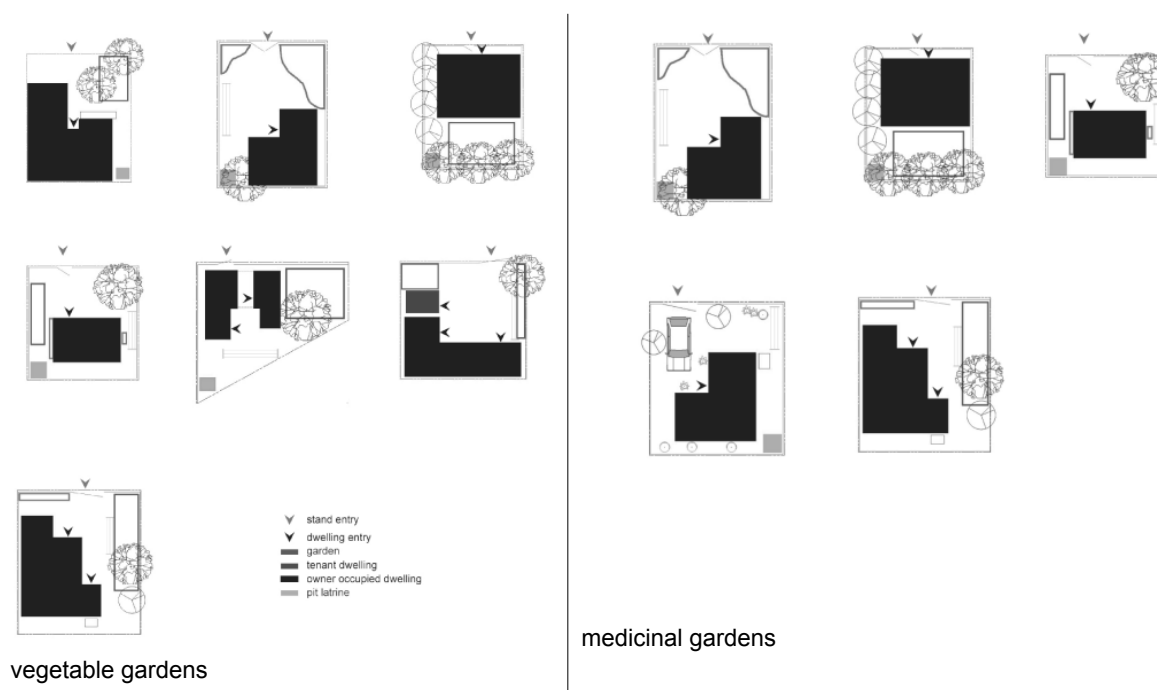


Figure 07.6: Stands in Harry Gwala with vegetable gardens (group on the left) and medicinal gardens (group on the right).

Overall, this section has drawn on theory discussed in Chapter 04 to show how the informal residents' need-based actions generate constantly changing *milieus*, which in turn territorialises the formal city and becomes a mechanism of socio-spatial overlap, or imbrication (Mbembe, 2000). The few mapped examples of this process begin to show how Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concept of disjunctive synthesis, or the diagramming of repeated connections, articulates the spatial manifestation of social process. The section then went on to give a purely phenomenological description that queried the influence of local aesthetic on social practices.

section 07.2 Bridging and bonding: social activities and processes within the settlements' spatial region

Building on the idea of territory as boundary defined by residents' engagement with the city this section examines the socio-spatial relationship between the informal settlement core and edge. It begins by examining the socio-economic functionality of

the edge and how it fuels a blurring of the formal/informal divide. The section then moves on to examine the qualities of place inside the community. MVRDV's (2002:31) definition of space as a 'mental construct, which enables us to confine, generalise and deal with certain clusters of problems' becomes a useful analogy with which to reflect on the data in terms of social bonding between residents and how it aids in their livelihoods and well-being.

section 07.2.1 Defining the mechanism and character of the informal edge

Here I look at the concept of edge and how it shapes the nature of the spaces on either side. In some cases edge amounts to barrier, but in others it is a place of social interchange; it is this second case that is of greatest interest. The edge of informal settlement is defined as the interface between a residential or urban area that was laid out by urban planners and one that was developed by occupying residents. As with many spatial edges, it is determined not only by a line on a map but also by mechanisms of social engagement. Chapter 06 described the geographical determinants of the case study settlements, or the line on the map. Here I look at the social relationships based on need, whether for livelihood, education, play, health care or spirituality. It is need as was articulated in Chapter 04 by Lefebvre's (1991, 1996 and 2012) comments on the needs of urban residents in the context of the right to the city, which included both psychological and physical necessities. Mbembe (2001a) describes the boundary as a form of negotiation between social actors, which my data bears out; however the data also suggests a certain level of spatial negotiation. Roy (2011:233) voices it as a 'mode of production of space that connects...slum and suburb', the evidence here indicates that there is more than just connection, there is also limited interaction. While Dovey and King (2011) suggest a process of 'attaching...onto the structures of the formal city'. This metaphor most closely parallels my findings because attaching implies a level of interaction. The data show that informality engages with the city in response to exclusion, but significantly it also reflects formality's forays into the realm of the informal.

The photographs in Figure 07.7 show street level and aerial images of Harry Gwala and Makause's edges. It is worth looking at these through the lens of two discussions in Chapter 02; first, the characterisation of imbrication, as discussed

above; and second, Putnum's (2000) concept of bridging networks, a form of social capital that makes external links, which poses a clear distinction to the notion of formal/informal binary model. Images 2 and 4 imply a clear edge between formality and informality, with 2 showing particular exclusion. However, looking closer, things are different than they appear. Images 1 and 2 are the same location but from the opposite sides of the street. The tailor shown in image 1 has chosen to set up his shop at the edge of the settlement where he has access to clients from both inside and outside the community. Photo 4 shows definitively from the air the line between formal layout and informal development between Wattville and Harry Gwala. However image 3 at street level indicates that this line, in reality, is not a clear one. It shows informal trade from Harry Gwala overlapping formal housing in Wattville. Documented observations reflect that, in fact, residents from both the formal and the informal neighbourhoods shop at those stalls.



Figure 07.7: Makause and Harry Gwala edges, photos 1 and 2 show the east edge of Makause, 3 and 4 the southwest edge Harry Gwala. The red indicates informality.

Similarly, Figure 07.8 illustrates how the sound of music from a *shebeen* in Harry Gwala shifts spatial form. In terms of the discussion in Chapter 04, the daily rhythm of sound from the *shebeen* has the territorialising power of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of refrain; in other words, as Wise (2000:302) puts it, it is a 'pattern of sound...that constructs space'. The first image shows the physical edge between the Harry Gwala and Wattville. The second, how when loud music is played in the afternoons and evenings the territorial boundary of Harry Gwala extends into the adjacent Wattville neighbourhood. The third is the reciprocating action of residents from Wattville, who, as the *shebeen* owner told me, are drawn into the settlement by that music. The genre of music carries with it the aesthetic of drinking beer, playing snooker, placing bets, slotting coins into the jukebox and so on, thus pushing the Wattville boundary into the informal settlement (Sylvester, personal communication, 2 November 2012). These two shifts, or negotiations, in Harry Gwala's boundary create a character of overlap that defines, or undefines the edge. It is worth noting that Harry Gwala also shares an informal/informal edge with Emandleni, the adjacent informal settlement. The primary creche used by Harry Gwala residents is located there (Ms. Nkosi, personal communication, 2 Nov. 2012). Additionally, there are shops on Emandleni's edge which face and serve the northeast area of Harry Gwala, which has only one very small shop of its own. In this way, residents' needs are being met by formal responses in an informal environment.



Figure 07.8: Spatial quality of sound. How the spatial quality of sound shifts the community edge and creates a character of overlap; informality moves into the formal community and vice versa, formality into informality. The red indicates informality.

Figure 07.9 demonstrates how consumption of goods defines a similar complexion to the Makause/Primrose edge. This relationship, again, is multi-faceted. The first photo shows the informal market space at the north/Primrose CBD entry to Makause. The second photo shows the opposite side of the street with people walking from that entrance into town to buy personal consumables, the predominant pattern voiced in

my interviews; ~~but~~ in addition, it shows a man coming back from the CBD with a wheelbarrow full of beers to be sold in a *spaza* shop in the settlement. *Spaza* shop owner Bukhosibakhe (Mr. Mflatelwa, interview, 21 July 2010) told me that 'If you bring more beers then people are going to buy them, but in terms of groceries people are going to Primrose and Germiston because it is cheaper there'. This highlights the intermingling of formal and informal economies in settlement livelihood efforts, personal consumption and local formal retail.

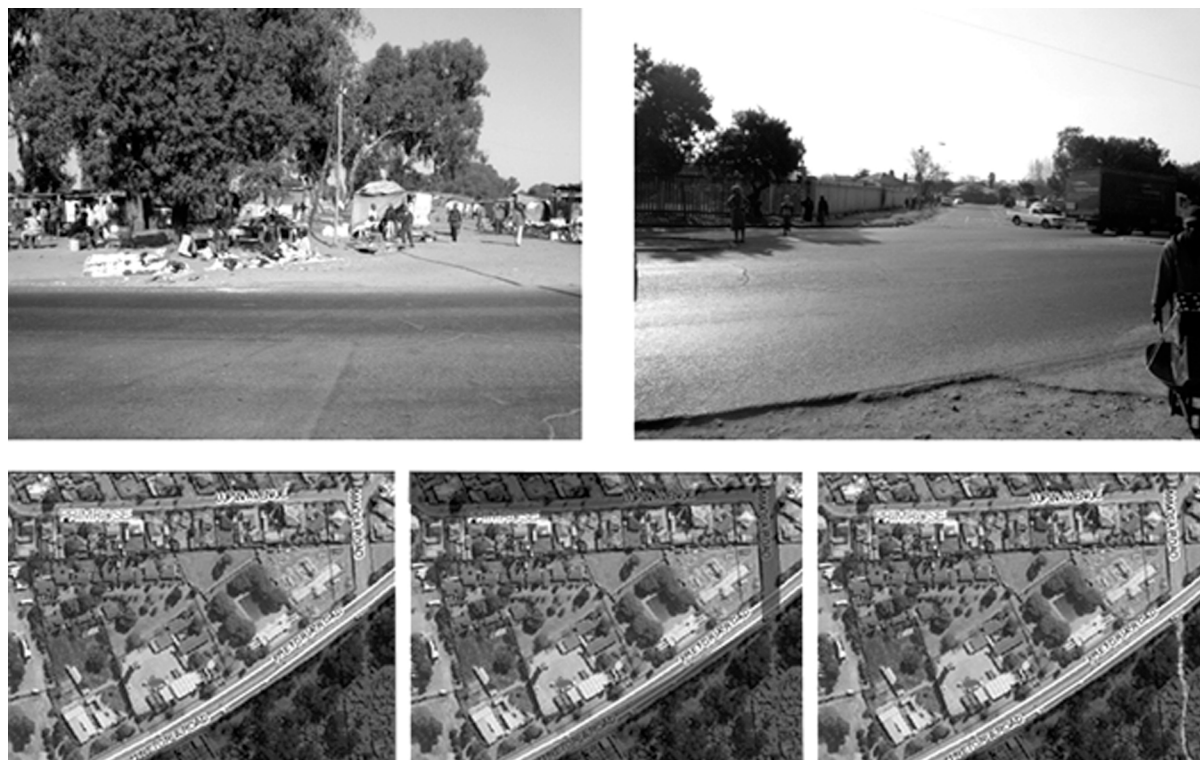


Figure 07.9: Makause's consumer practices shift the community edge. The red indicate informality.

section07.2.2 Bonding capital and the attachment to place

I now turn to the community core and explore the concept of place at the neighbourhood scale. This speaks to one of the themes of my research question: What are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal settlements? Through the interview process I attempted to understand the residents' interpersonal dynamics at the community scale. What are their daily rhythms that have shaped their attachments to their community? Is there more to people's fierce opposition to relocation than a community's good location in the city, and if so, is it a demonstration of Putnam's (2000:22) concept of 'bonding capital', as discussed in Chapter 02?

The social aspects of community that were reflected in the interviews varied, but I have grouped them into categories of friendship/family, problem solving, personal security, livelihood, and identity. Spanning many of the categories is the input and support of the democratically elected Harry Gwala Civic Committee (HGCC) and the Makause Community Development Forum (MCDF). Interviewees repeatedly voiced their positive opinion of these committees, with only a few minor dissents. It is important to note that their influence is both social and spatial. In their review of informal settlement in Ekurhuleni, Bonner *et al.* (2012:224) comment that 'Importantly, the perception of the spatial chaos enveloping informal settlements belies efforts by these communities to assert some control over the growth and spatial organisation of the area'. In my two case study communities, what came to light is the extent of formality embedded in the informal. The committees oversee, to the extent of their influence, such planning issues as community growth, pattern of development and density.

In the minds of many of the residents in both settlements, their community has become the source of family and friendship, 'the community for me it looks like I've got a sister and a brother...what I can say about my family is that I don't have a relationship with them, I have a relationship only with the community and these people from the committee [HGCC]' (Ms. Maselela, interviews, 20 September 2008 and 25 July 2010). Similarly, Lee Anne explains to me what this means to her, as a single mother without family in Makause: 'I feel welcome, I'm like family because I'm well-known. I do have a big mouth (she laughs) I do know that, but I am sociable and I have a lot of friends...there's people who care you know...I'm fine. thank you sweetheart' (Ms. Maddedens interview, 7 September 2008). Originally from Durban, she is a tenant in Makause, and though she had changed dwellings between 2008 and 2010, her reliance on the community and her neighbours remained her primary source of social support. Her comments about family and friendship are interrelated with two other respondent categories: identity, and problem solving. The comments reflect that while her space changed, her sense of place did not.

Identity, articulated by the residents in the two communities as both a sentimental of attachment and a sense of identity, addresses the psychological needs that are at

the centre of the concept of place. Catriene (Ms. Mdlaose, interview, 6 September 2008) expressed that the Harry Gwala community 'is vibrant and it makes sure that I have hope for the future'. Lee Anne confided that Makause 'makes me feel like I'm not no one' (Ms. Maiddens interview, 7 September 2008). In this same vein, the older members of the community commented that they gain a sense of respect and dignity within the community, while conceding that they are often treated as a plebeian by members of the formal sector (official decision-makers and the general public). In addition, many of the youth gain a feeling of identity through civic engagement and interactions with the leadership committees, in Makause this is largely through the organised security patrols, while in Harry Gwala the Youth Brigade participates in community projects. Mbuso (Mr. Mkhwanazi, interview, 17 July 2010) leads this group in Harry Gwala, which meets every Tuesday and Thursday at the community hall. They organise, with the assistance of Miriam at the municipality, community clean ups, mobile clinic visits, and assistance through Home Affairs for fellow residents who have problems with their identity papers. This reflects both bridging and bonding capacity; the individuals shown in the Figure 07.10 sang and danced and picked up garbage and described their pride in improving the community. They received no form of payment or support other than the use of the truck from the municipality for their efforts.



Figure 07.10: Harry Gwala youth group having a community cleanup day. The truck was organised through their connection with Miriam at the municipal offices.

This goes hand in hand with comments made by residents' of both settlements who see their community as a united front and a source for problem solving. Elizabeth (Ms. Motemo, interview, 6 September 2008) states that 'I take the community [of

Harry Gwala] as my family because whenever I have a difficulty or any problems they are the first people that I get in contact with and they come rushing to help'. Likewise, a resident of Makause, who asked to remain anonymous, claims that 'the community is very important to me because when I cry they come quickly' (Anonymous 1, 3 Sept. 2008). In contrast, a fellow resident of Makause Elizabeth (Ms. Zwane, interview, 3 July 2010) stated that 'I cannot say anything about the community because we are not working together and with the other leadership [excluding Alfred] there is corruption'. Wonder-Boy (Mr. Nkosi, interview, 4 September 2008), a ten year resident of Makause shared this sentiment,

'Here at Makause life is difficult, it is not as simple as you think or as sometimes you watch from far. Because you see a lot of people here are unemployed, they don't have work, they don't have food and most of the time you find out the small children are being abused. And criminals, there are a lot of criminals, people are getting dead every day you see. Life in a squatter camp is not right'.

Wonder Boy's comments highlight the tenuous line between the aestheticisation of poverty (Roy, 2004) and the legitimisation of informal settlement as part of the urban housing stock (Huchzermeyer, 2006; Pithouse, 2008). It is a stark reminder that while the benefits of social capital can be linked to the qualities of place in these communities, one cannot ignore residents' state of precariousness resulting from ongoing poverty, marginality and exclusion.

Further light is shed on this when examining Makause's high crime rate, residents' anxiety regarding crime and personal security which rang out repeatedly. . In response, the community leadership has worked hard with the local police to organise a volunteer crime patrol. The result has been threefold, first the residents claim it has helped with security, and second this bridging relationship between the community and the police has become a source of civic identity and pride. Third, the following statements reflect how this process has also resulted in bonding within the community beyond the scale of the immediate neighbour. Vusi (Mr. Thela, interview, 4 September 2008), a twenty year resident of Makause, tells me 'I am happy here I am committed to the community and we choose some people to patrol for fighting crime and I am one of those people. And we are working together'. Margaret (Ms. Makhwangeni, interview, 3 July 2010) says that 'the police forum is very good to help me. They invite me to do this and this and this, all the people that invite me are in the police forum'. Nomsa's (Ms. Khoza, 23 September 2010) comment's reflect how this

issue impacts social behaviours in the community, and she acknowledges the seriousness of the crime problem: 'Some people are gunned down during the night, some are stabbed, but that is mostly people who go to the taverns, people who stay out late at night'; and then goes on to explain how she socio-spatially copes with it: 'as a squatter camp we do experience crime but for me personally I don't see much of it. I reside here, I stay here, I don't walk out at night...for me crime is not a big problem'.

Residents of Harry Gwala also commented on the relationship between the community and the problem of crime, John (Mr. Dumsane Simelane, interview, 6 September 2008) comments that 'the only problem I have with Harry Gwala is a few of the criminal elements that harass the community, but we are able to control those people'. Similarly, Theindi (Ms. Shabalala, interview, 6 September 2008) voices the opinion that, 'we are united, we fight each and every obstacle, each and every crime together'. In 2010, a year after EMM's chemical toilet rollout in Harry Gwala, residents repeatedly complained of personal security problems around the toilets that were put in the community. Women will not use them at night because they are afraid to go out on the streets, instead they use a bucket indoors. Bazino (Mr. Lihlabi, interview, 25 July 2010), a member of the HGCC, confided: 'Not the women only, even the men are afraid to go out there because it is so dark here [without high mast lighting]. You don't know if these guys are waiting here in the toilet to shoot you or kill you, especially us as the committee'. Sipho (Mr. Ntuse, interview 24 July 2010), a pensioner, explained his decision to leave Harry Gwala and be relocated, was largely because, 'on this side [the south side of Dube St] there are a lot of people who are not good. There is a lot of crime and that is why I want to go'.

Beyond social needs, multiple interviewees commented that the community assisted them with livelihood, for example Bukhosibakhe (Mr. Mflatelwa, interview 21 July 2010) describes how in Makause 'as the committee we usually take some speakers around and tell people that there are jobs available'. However, the data infers that livelihood links are more common between neighbours and friends. This shift in socio-spatial dynamic was particularly evident among the women. In both communities their livelihood efforts largely influence by the need for childcare, and

for attaining food and water. The social processes around food were twofold, first it was offered on credit by those who sell food; and second sharing amongst organised groups or neighbours was also evident, particularly so that children would not go without.

This is illustrated by Catriene (Ms. Mdlalose, interview, 6 September 2008), who has a business selling chickens for meat in Harry Gwala, 'I live very well with my neighbours, they can even come here and get chicken for credit'. Tandiwe (Ms. Majali, interview, 23 July 2010) describes, 'I've got a group that I formed myself with my friends for our children. We started a saving scheme...I've collected for the children that can't afford to go to the creche...we cook food and give them breakfast'. Assistance with water is also a big issue among the women, if residents don't have time to stand in line or fetch water they either borrow from their neighbour's supply, use the private taps that people have paid to install, or stand in line on each others' behalf. Lee Ann (Ms. Maiddens, interview, 15 July 2010) describes her relationship with her neighbours: 'they are not someone who you can think bad about. Even if they need help with their washing, I can take their washing and wash it, if they leave it out. And water, I fetch water. So I am like family', she is a single mother and relies on them, in turn, to assist with her children. Martha (Ms. Mojapelo, interview, 25 July 2010), a resident of Harry Gwala, comments 'Oh yes, yes we have good relationship. I don't have water here, but when I need water I can go next door and fetch water there. We don't have a toilet here but I can go next door and use the toilet'. Others related instances of assistance with finding work, with used clothes, and even with money. Money was borrowed and paid back, but also the women engage in 'China', something like a self-organised lotto, to try to increase their meagre funds.

From a social standpoint, residents related that their neighbours gave them a feeling of having family and extended the customs and privileges normally afforded to relatives. Beyond this they help each other when sick and in solving daily problems that don't need to be taken to the civic committee. And finally, neighbours were described as the source of respect, pleasure and the camaraderie found with friends. Only two interviewees said that they gained nothing from their neighbours. Overall, it is clear that residents do gain significant benefit from social negotiations within the

community, a concept discussed in Chapter 02 (Coleman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1989; Putnam, 2000). What also came to light is an element that Haferburg *et al.* (2009) pick up on in Putnam's work, that social capital is a 'collective resource that provides a measure for how well societies perform'. One could argue that this is evidenced by those residents who are not engaged with their neighbours or community and whose comments were notably more negative.

This section has tried to represent the functionality of the edges and the core of the informal life in the settlements through loosely using Putnam's (2000:22) model of 'bridging networks' and 'bonding capital'. As in the previous section, the data reflects territorial shifts, both within the community and spanning the planned/unplanned divide. At this point in the discussion, the change in nomenclature from formal/informal to planned/unplanned to describe the physical dimensions of the settlements is necessary, because the level of formality embedded in informality that has come to light in this section is such that that socio-spatial divide has become ambiguous. The links across the physical divide serve to further blur the interface. Within the communities, the residents' voices describing the social bonds that they count on to fulfil their needs. In Harry Gwala, this resonated loudest in the sense of identity and well-being gained through friendships with neighbours; in Makause the larger socio-spatial territory of the crime patrols additionally became evident. As will be seen in the next section, there is significant overlap between individuals' relationships with the concept of home and community, largely through the interaction of neighbours.

section07.3 Dwelling: capturing the place of settlements in their dynamic of space and time

Deleuze and Guattari suggest that rhythm is the repetition of habitual behaviours and that this contributes to the definition of place. Janz (2002:6) articulates the mechanism of this concept as follows: '[w]hen we are at home, we have a set of rhythms that define a place as home, and in fact when we are away from home, we often find ourselves setting up familiar rhythms to make a new place into home'. In other words, the rhythm is an articulation of a dynamic in the human/space interaction (Madanipour, 1996). It is this reading of Deleuze and Guattari's notion of place that I find particularly relevant to the transitional nature of informal settlement,

and which I explore in this section. It begins with examining a frequently repeated, and, as my data would seem to suggest, purely anecdotal, comment from actors in the formal sector that informal residents do not consider their informal dwelling as home. The data reflects that the vast majority of informal residents consider their shack, in its urban setting, to indeed be home. I then look at how spatial dynamics between public and private spaces and their uses are significantly different in Harry Gwala and Makause. This leads to an examination of how use and everyday rhythms, shape private spatial morphologies in these communities and how and why these are similar and different. Building on this, I explore Deleuze and Guattari's concept of refrain. Informal settlements are not quiet places during the day, especially a weekend day. People live in the street, or with nothing but a piece of zinc around them. At night a new generator changes the character of the environment, the noise, the light, the relationship between neighbours. Wise (2000:302) states that refrain is 'the repetition of song-elements...the pattern of sound, of light, of meaning that constructs space'. Implied in this is also a means to understand the timing of a place (*ibid.*). With this in mind, I consider sound's role in understanding informal space.

section07.3.1 Where is home?

In my thesis proposal, I suggested that at the scale of private space, or home, I would find a significant connection between rural and urban built forms. In other words, spatial and structural references to residents' rural origins would imply a continuing attachment to those rural traditions in the urban setting. However, my empirical evidence, from both communities, does not bear this out. The separation of rural origins and urban living proved twofold: psychological and physical. Additionally, I found that the residents' overwhelming expectation is for development with the urban typology of 'straight streets', on a grid. Consequently, my initial theory becomes another point of methodological reconstruction, or as Burawoy (2009:43) puts it, identifying 'not confirmations but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory'.

To this end and given the seemingly fluid, transient nature of informality, I felt it critical to establish residents' meaning, location and duration of 'home' in the shack

communities. Figure 07.11 illustrates the demographic for residents' place of origin. Interestingly, it reflects that the inhabitants in both communities share similar geographic roots. What also stands out is that a significant percent of Harry Gwala's population comes from the adjacent township of Wattville.

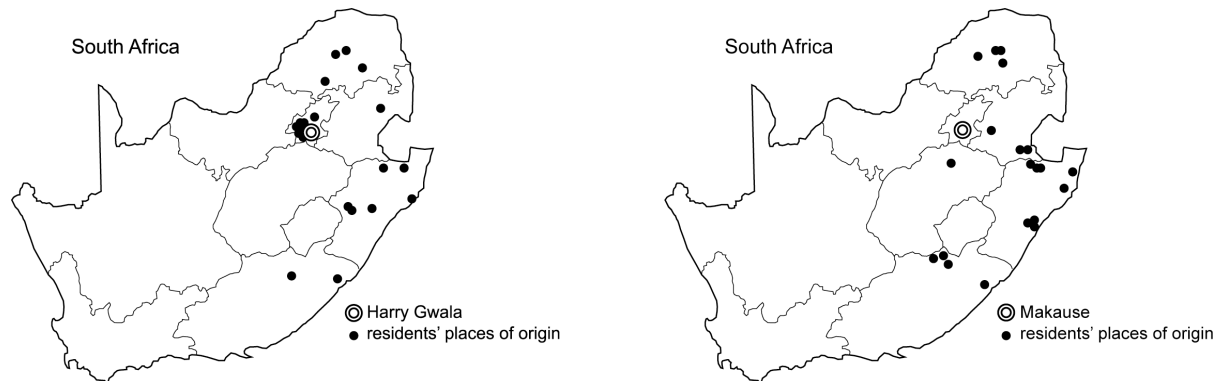


Figure 07.11: Places of origin of residents from Harry Gwala and Makause settlements.

The dominant perception from decision-makers, and often the general public, is that informal settlement is temporary housing; perhaps this makes policies of relocation more palatable. The evidence collected through interviews with the residents, however, refutes this. In Harry Gwala the average duration of stay is 14 years, while in Makause, a newer community, it is over 9 years. Based on my narrative interviews, informal settlement is the process of making a new place into a home. When asked if they considered the settlement or their place of origin home, seven out of ten of Harry Gwala residents clearly stated that the settlement was their home, some did not comment, and only one interviewee said that they considered their place of origin was their home. Vuya, a resident of Harry Gwala, said to me, 'People may look at this and see a shack, but for me it is my palace, and I care for it like a palace' (personal communication, 2 Nov. 2012). It could be argued that the result from Harry Gwala is somewhat skewed because of the significant number of residents, nearly half of those interviewed, who come from the adjacent township of Wattville. However, this trend is given further credence by the data from Makause residents, which rose slightly to eight out of ten, stating that they considered the settlement their home. When asked specifically where (Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, Makause, their dwelling), they responded that their shack in the community of Makause was home.

There was one exception, John (Mr. Dumsane Simelane, interview, 6 September 2008) who said, ‘my Harry Gwala stand is exactly the same [as my KwaZulu Natal home], but what I lack is a *kraal* full of cows!’. He walked me around his stand explaining that the structures are around the edge of the yard leaving a central communal space, which they all open directly onto and that these buildings include his family’s dwelling, two tenant dwellings and an obligatory guesthouse (Figure 07.12). Also of note, a correlation became evident between the age of the residents and the level of emotional connectedness to their rural origins. The older residents showed a stronger connection. Mr. Nokotyana, a resident since the early 1990s but now a pensioner, tells me that since his retirement he has begun to make more frequent trips to his rural village, and he talks about it as the place he will eventually return to (personal communication, 30 October 2012). On my previous visit to his home in Harry Gwala in 2010, he had introduced me to his son who, it is planned, will take over his urban dwelling in Harry Gwala. However, I found this the exception; for the larger majority of the residents rural villages have become a place to go only for the December holiday, and for the youth it is often not even that.

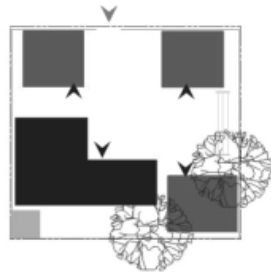


Figure 07.12: John Dumsane Simelane’s Harry Gwala stand layout (black is “owner occupied” dwelling).

section 07.3.2 Home: space versus place and how this leads to community morphology

This section examines spatial use, through interviews and drawings made at the interviewees dwellings, as a window into the further understanding of place. The drawings illustrate how people arrange their private living spaces in different ways that begin to tell the story of private, semi-private and public experiences. They are broken down into: single dwellings on a delineated stand; dwellings on a non-delineated stand; and multiple dwellings on a single stand. Further, I investigate residents’ use of their individual spaces as a source of livelihood and well-being. And finally, assuming Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) notion of refrain, I consider ‘the

pattern of sound, of light, of meaning that constructs space' (Wise, 2000:302). In other words, I ask the question: What are the elements that regulate space in these informal communities?

One of the talking points in my interviews with the informal residents centred on the spaces that they consider to be important in their daily lives. They described to me the social actions that define their daily lives, or in other words, how their everyday rhythms defined place within their homes and in turn how that impacted the community. In Harry Gwala many of these conversations focused on actions taken to overcome lack of services. The water taps proved an important gathering place, particularly for women: 'Men go to the *shebeen*, women go to the tap!' (Mkhwanazi, interview, 17 July 2010). They spoke of getting up early in the morning, sometimes in the dark to collect water, standing in line for long periods of time. That time period in itself gives the space around the tap significance. Additionally, much of the talk was about interactions with their neighbours and nearby friends. Regarding the importance of their gardens, several people mentioned how they shared seedlings or brought seedlings from their places of work (Anonymous, personal communication, 23 Oct. 2012; Mdlalose and Siphethu, personal communication, 24 Oct. 2012). It seemed that the social aspect was as important as the food they grew. In areas with undesignated stands, there were examples of communal gardening (see Figure 07.13). Some told me how they used the informal water hookups (and in 2010 the chemical toilet) in their neighbour's yard. This effectively made the yard semi-public. There is no creche in Harry Gwala, so many watch each others' children. The spatial implication of these findings is that Harry Gwala residents have a tight private territory around their home and small groupings of (their friends') homes. This territory is the result of their daily actions to fulfil their needs. Beyond this, residents identified their spiritual space (formal church, outdoor worship, cemetery) as most significant. Section 07.1.1 showed that the residents' spiritual territory reaches well beyond the settlement itself, thus leaving the home as the most meaningful space within the community.



Figure 07.13: Examples of the level of care given to private spaces in Harry Gwala.

Conversations in Makause were also weighted by social process. Everyday life there also reflected needs-based activities around the lack of services, but as mentioned above, crime was another major influence. Significantly, in contrast to Harry Gwala, none of the residents of Makause mentioned home as a significant space. Church, which is perhaps more appropriately defined as spiritual place, was repeatedly named as the most important space. Unlike the spiritual boundary of Harry Gwala described in Section 07.1.1, only one person mentioned religious practices that occurred outside the settlement.

This difference in the significance of home is worth considering in the context of how public and private space has developed in the two communities. It became apparent on mapping the two settlements that Harry Gwala has the character of a dormitory community, while Makause on the other hand is significantly more self reliant. Harry Gwala residents are almost entirely reliant on the surrounding area for their public spaces and social amenities. There are just a few very basic shops, one formal church, and a small gathering space in which mass meetings are held, but no other public activities were documented there. In contrast, Makause has a business forum which actively promotes and supports businesses inside the community, a large number of well attended “churches”, and more public spaces. One of its greatest socio-spatial assets is the large, centrally located football pitch, which is a major gathering place on the weekends for football matches in their well-organised leagues; but at other times it serves as a gathering space for mass meetings, political rallies, training sessions with the security patrols and so on. Additionally, in the aftermath of the 2007 shack clearing, the community has an open space where residents deposit their household recycling, a small park has been established and stalls are erected in which businesses set up shop (Figure 07.14).



Figure 07.14: Makause open space (left to right) public park, church, recycling centre, security patrol practicing on the football pitch.

Does this explain the difference in housing morphologies between the two settlements? At Harry Gwala the private spaces are more developed, there are more examples of consolidation of the dwellings and more care has been given to the development of the private stand spaces (Figure 07.13 above). As was discussed in section 07.1.2, in Harry Gwala ornamental and productive gardening is widespread and the attention given to the dwellings, even when they have not been consolidated with permanent materials, is significantly higher. This evidence would suggest that the difference in the quality of public space does impact the importance of the home as a semi-private gathering space, as seen in Harry Gwala.

This difference in home space led me to examine the private stand morphologies in the two communities more closely. I have designated complex dwellings as those with more than four walls, while simple dwellings are a variation on a square or rectangle. In both settlements, general observations suggest that there are significantly more complex dwellings throughout. This trend is borne out in my drawings of the interviewees' stands. All documented tenant structures are simple, save for one unique case in Makause of a complex, tenant-only structure (Figure 07.15). In Harry Gwala, the leadership has attempted to control community density by tightly regulating the rental situation, they allow a maximum of two tenant structures per stand. This is not the case in Makause. Another variable that I explore is the relationship between the entry to the stand and the entry to the primary dwelling ("owner" occupied or elder family member). In Makause, through general observation, most of the stands are fenced with a controlled point of entry. The stand in Figure 07.15 is once more an exception. There is a similar trend observed in Harry Gwala; there, all of the documented stands have either single entry into one dwelling or into a group of multiple dwellings. Additionally, I found that stands with multiple dwellings tend to open onto a communal semi-private area within the fenced space.

In all the documented cases, the stands with multiple structures were either “owners” with tenants, or families with multiple generations living together. Also worth noting, in Harry Gwala, significantly more of the primary dwellings have entries facing the street, which is perhaps a result of lower population density and larger stand size. In Makause, the more common side entry that I generally observed, combined with the higher number of solid perimeter fences, suggests a heightened desire for personal privacy in that denser community. Also in Makause, I documented situations where tenants or multiple generations live together on one stand but have separate entries, and internal spaces on the stand are fenced (Figure 07.17), again showing the desire for increased privacy. Another notable example in Makause, is the case of three families from the same area of the province of KwaZulu Natal who have three adjoining stands with: only the outer perimeter fenced; only one entry from the street; each house is on its own stand; and a shared toilet and clothes line (Figure 07.17). The final dynamic that I documented was stands that included business enterprises. In all instances, interviewees from Makause who were also shopkeepers had a separate, designated room for their shop; in Harry Gwala the documented businesses were integrated into the living space, with the exception of the *shebeens*.

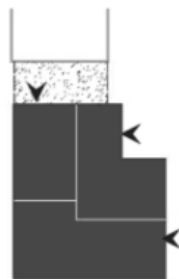
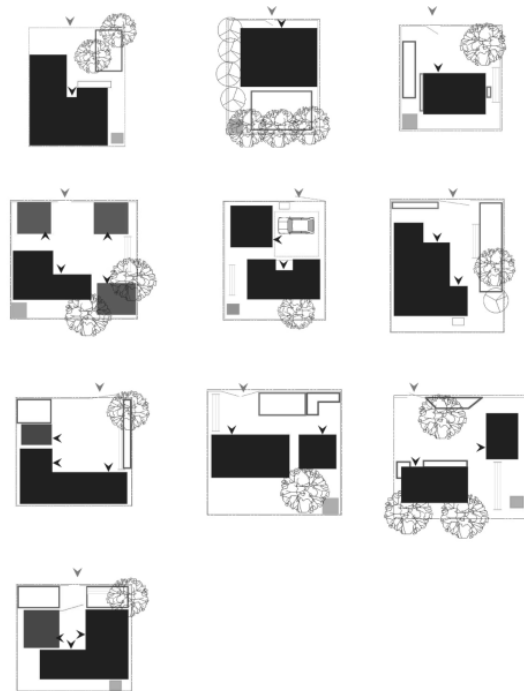
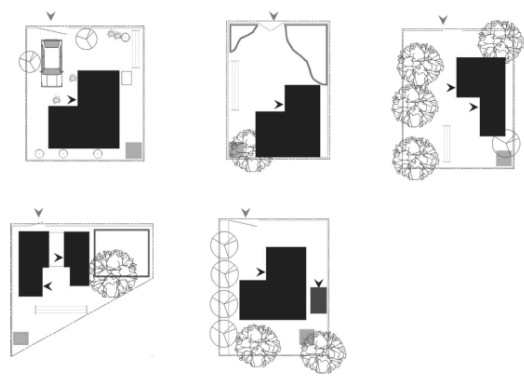


Figure 07.15: Makause rental structure with three units. The stand is not owner-occupied and not delineated.

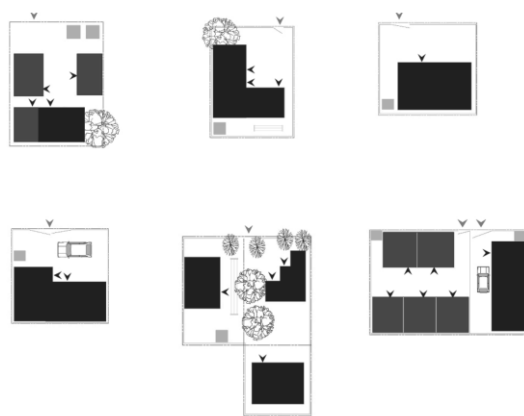


The entrance to primary dwelling (in black) is in line with the stand access.

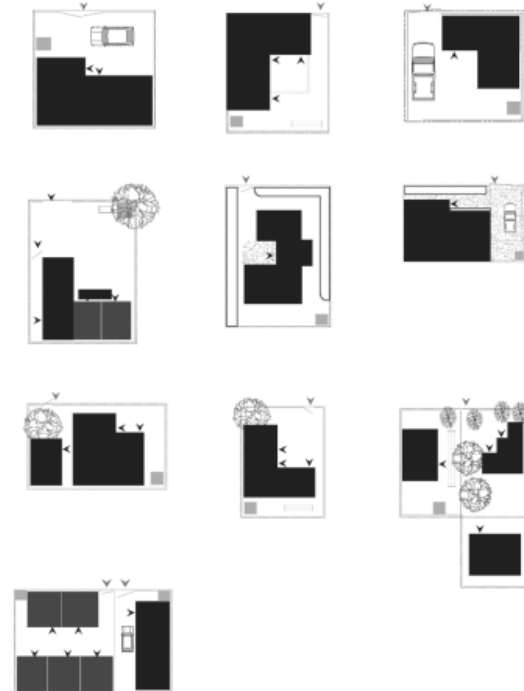


The entrance to primary dwellings is perpendicular to stand access.

Figure 07.16: Harry Gwala stand morphologies with “owner occupied” (and) secondary or tenant structures.



The entrance to primary dwelling (in black) is in line with the stand access.



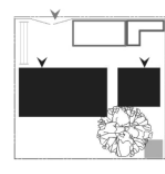
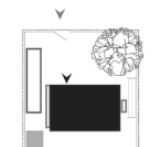
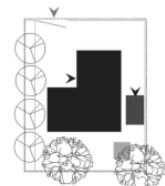
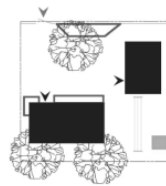
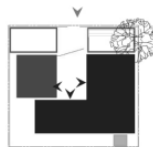
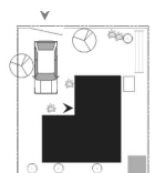
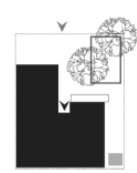
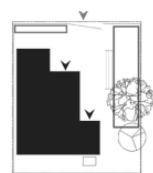
The entrance to primary dwellings is perpendicular to stand access.

Figure 07.17: Makause stand morphologies with “owner occupied” (and) secondary or tenant structures.

Another notable difference between the two settlements is the difference in overall community aesthetic, which results from the character of the stands. Figure 07.18 shows that only two of the interviewees' homes in Makause had ornamental gardens, and general observation indicates that this lack of gardens is prevalent. Nancy (Ms. Maapola, interview, 28 August 2008), in Makause, told me that she wants visitors to see 'a nice garden [with] only flowers', but she was an exception. In the same vein, there are significantly fewer trees on the stands in Makause, which changes one's visual perception, and in the summer it affects one's level of comfort with regard to the sun. The stands in Makause are also smaller, increasing the feeling of density.



Makause interviewees' stands with ornamental gardens.



Harry Gwala interviewees' stands with ornamental gardens.

Figure 07.18: The drawings reflect the different aesthetic that was apparent through general observation and documented cases.

Also impacting aesthetics and sense of space is sound. Earlier in the chapter I discussed how sound impacts the community edge; here I examine how it shapes private space. In my thesis proposal I suggested that I would find that the music played in the informal settlements had a local connection to the conditions in the settlements themselves. I had hoped that I would find example of place-specific lyrics describing local living conditions, political agency, and so on, as was described

in the documentary film *Masizakhe: Building Each Other* (2008). The film portrayed young rappers questioning government policy, reflecting on poverty and on life in the settlements of Port Elizabeth, South Africa; I did not find examples of this in Ekurhuleni. What I did find was more along the lines of what Sancar (2003) suggests: some music has a local connection through lyrics, in other cases it is the music aesthetic that contributes to community identity:

‘songs...are unique expressions of place attachment that go beyond the conventional methodological dichotomies of the subjective - personal and objective – universal. Therefore, they can help us understand the nature of place attachment across different populations and types of places’ (*ibid.Ibid...*:287).

In light of this, I interviewed Sifiso (Mr. Ntuli, 12 September 2008) a musician, nightclub owner and cultural/political commentator in Johannesburg. I asked him about what people are listening to and the legitimacy of lyrics written about poverty by people who don’t live in that poverty, and lyrics which often come from other parts of the world. He replied that there was an understanding even if the lyrics aren’t locally specific, ‘of course the kids in the squatter camps also would know...their sister/cousins across the sea in the ghetto’. This suggests that there is an aesthetic to the music beyond the words themselves that can create meaning. In this same vein, I also interviewed a local DJ from Vosloorus township in Ekurhuleni. He spins at townships and settlements in the area. What DJ Kutloro (interview, July 23 2010) described to me parallels this; he says that there is a different aesthetic in the settlements than in the townships or in the suburbs. He explains that ‘where I am [in the townships], it’s House, at [Alfred’s] place [in Makause], it’s *Kwaito* mostly’. He goes on to explain the difference between these two genres: *Kwaito* has lyrics and the lyrics often talk about social hardships, he describes it as a South African version variant of global (largely American) rap. House, on the other hand, is just beat and people dance to it. When I asked if people tend to listen to local musicians or music from all around the world he said usually they want music from all around the world. Interestingly, he said that there is an increasing interest in House in the settlements. I investigated this further by documenting the songs in the jukebox at the *shebeen* in Harry Gwala that was mentioned earlier in the chapter (while playing a game of snooker with the residents). I found it to be predominantly American rap music, with *Kwaito* and other African genres.

My findings reflect three connections of sound. First, as music that is listened to and danced to as was described in an earlier section; a sound that draws people to a *shebeen*. Second, music as a socio-spatial aesthetic as was discussed with the example of taxis in Chapter 03 and earlier in this chapter. And third, as a definer of space, as was mentioned in Chapter 02. It is this third aspect of sound that I will discuss here, assuming Deleuze and Guattari's concept of refrain. A number of residents interviewed in Makause said that sound was a significant part of their daily experience in their private space. Several said they didn't really mind the music and it didn't impact them, and yet they went on to tell me exactly when it would be on and off, on different days, at different times. Further, their actions suggests that they take cues from the sound or lack of sound. Lee Ann (Ms. Maiddens, interview, July 15 2010) spoke of music like a physical element of her life, 'Every day until late in the night we go to bed with that music on. I wish that I could walk in my sleep so that I could get away from it. When the music is off it feels like a burden is lifted'. It is not only music, Nomsa (Ms. Khoza, interview, 23 July 2010) and I had to raise our voices, it was something new from when I had interviewed her in 2008. Her neighbour has a new generator. She explained that it told her a lot, if it ran it meant the neighbour was working so they had money and could buy petrol, and if it was silent they weren't working. She went on to describe how there are also negotiations between neighbours, 'if you are on good understanding with the neighbour sometimes you combine your money to buy petrol'. As we spoke, the sound went on and off, and we raised and lowered our voices to match, she said its like this all the time now. Her rhythms have changed because of the loud sounds of the generator. As Wise (2000:302) puts it, refrain is the 'pattern of sound that constructs space'. The implication is that it is these regularised sounds that are shaping people's actions, that in create the rhythms and *milieus*, and in turn territories. This is how the language of Deleuze and Guattari's language of place become a mechanism to understand social process in a way that is appropriate to informality.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how space is shaped through the actions of the informal settlement residents by way of their social processes, in three scales: region, edge and home. In this way, the study rethinks the connection and boundary between formal/informal, planned/unplanned in urban form. To this end, it articulates the relationship between social

process and space/place using Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) language of rhythm, refrain, *milieu* and territory. The outcome is a relational, rather than objective, understanding of informality that becomes a tool for grasping the functionality of the communities. Of particular note is the the spacial use of home. It is not the bastion of privacy as is the Western model. This description from Mda, repeated from earlier, says it best:

'Toloki was not at all bothered by the passing crowds. He is used to public ablutions. And the passers-by were not gawking at him. They were going about their business. In any case, in the settlement people generally wash themselves outside their shacks. There isn't enough room inside for ablutions.' (Mda, 1995:156).

This morphology was especially evident in Harry Gwala, where there is little public space. This appreciation of socio-spatial functionality underlines the need for more ethnographic study in the urban development process and settlement upgrading, as was pointed out by Holston and Caldeira, (2008) in an earlier discussion. Key to these findings is the acknowledgment that understanding the place of informality gives the residents a voice. This is not a romanticisation of poverty or of the communities, but rather a means to acknowledge what the residents have built that works, while at the same time the opportunity to recognise the challenges that they face. Further, the relational mechanism of understanding makes it contextually appropriate to the fluid character of these communities.

chapter 08 UNDERSTANDING INFORMAL RESIDENTS' EXPECTATIONS: HOPE, DEMOCRACY AND SPACE

Introduction

Building on the empirically based discussion of informal space as a product of social process in the previous chapter, this chapter integrates the dynamic of time. Worth noting again is the foundation of this discussion, that space drives political action. In reality, this began in Chapter 02 with the discourse on the international influence in urban development in the post-World War II era of free market economies; and then was brought into the context of this study in Chapter 06 with the outlining of EMM's politico-economic agenda and spatial plans for the city. The urban planning axes and corridors that are being devised as the framework of the City's aerotropolis spatial development strategy, illustrated in Chapter 06, are based on that agenda; in turn these spatial interventions are impacting the political decisions regarding how to address the city's informal settlements and where to house the poor. This harkens back to the literature review in Chapter 03, which reflected the shift from need-based to economic-based decision-making as South Africa stepped further into the arena of the global neoliberal market economy. In a recent workshop, Mbembe (2011:2) acknowledged this shift with his comment that "the human" in politics and culture was recognised as a matter of ethical and political urgency during the first decade of [South African] democracy'. He contrasts this with the contemporary notion that "the human" has become a waste product of South Africa's post-apartheid embrace of capitalism: 'Today, this logic of waste is particularly dramatised by the dilemmas of unemployment and subsistence, and the expansion in every arena of everyday life of spaces of vulnerability' (*ibid.*:2).

Democracy, as I apply it here, includes the 'politics of hope', the political actions of the state, and the political agency of the poor. The discussion in this chapter examines these stakeholders in relation to informal development and uses hope as a means to integrate time into space. Sandercock (2003:172) states that there is 'the organisation of hope', which includes the efforts of the community leadership and activist planners; in the South African context it can be argued that legal counsel and social movements should be added. Appadurai (2007:31), on the other hand, argues

that ‘the politics of hope has become [post World War II] essential to democratic theory and practice on the ground’. This is seen in the linkage between participation (of the poor) and political process, which is ‘built on the premise that human suffering and misery require ethical and practical attention’ (*ibid.*:32). Through the voices of residents of The Park informal settlement in Cape Town, Ross (2010:5) describes ‘the slow erasure of hope that is poverty’s grinding legacy’. Like Ross, Mbembe (2011:5) places this notion of the politics of hope in the contemporary South African context and underlines its criticality with his statement that ‘The “human” is another name for the future’ and argues that, ‘what gave...the future its power was the hope that we might bring into being...a systematic transformation in the logic of our social life...as a result of historical praxis’. In this chapter, I will look at the Constitutional Court’s role in enabling or dis-enabling the transformative power at the core of South Africa’s Constitution, the tenets of which are dignity and equality in response to the injustices of the past, which one can equate to the concept of the politics of hope. Largely at question is the content of the socio-economic rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and the current trends of jurisprudence, which as Bilchitz (2010:no page number) points out, are ‘a hangover from the formalism of apartheid legal structure’. Pithouse’s (2012:7) thoughts add to this conversation by focusing democracy and settlement upgrading on the realities of shack dwellers, with his statement that the promise of informal settlement upgrading represents ‘a mode of inclusion into the post-apartheid nation’. He then goes on to comment that the political intensity now facing informal settlements leaves the communities vulnerable ‘to contestation from above and from below’, which will be seen later in the chapter (*ibid.*:7).

As will be discussed in this chapter, I have linked the characterisation of hope discussed in the literature with the quality of waiting described by residents from my fieldwork. I examine how informal residents’ acts of citizenship and their beliefs in deeper democracy have impacted the development of the spaces they inhabit (Appadurai, 2010). I frame the discussion using two different engagements with time: first, the dynamic of hope and waiting; and the second, action and hope. This includes voting and other efforts to attain their right to the city. Using data from interviews and ideas developed earlier in this study, I show how time, political

agency, and the State impact informal space development. In the first section, residents' waiting becomes an analogy for the lack of spatial and structural consolidation seen in informal settlements, along with the government's shortfalls in basic service provision, land security and commitment to urban development for the poor. The second section responds to the question of informal residents' political agency. I show how residents and communities practice bottom up development efforts through: the use of the legal system and the Courts; the actions of community leadership; engaging development expertise on their terms; and social movements. Where appropriate, I augment this with comments from interviews with housing officials at the national, provincial and municipal levels to impress the government's current role in the response to informal settlement development and its spatial impact on the communities.

section 08.1 Acknowledging the role of time in informal socio-spaces

'The watch-a-ma-call-it waiting list' (Mr. Ntombela, personal communication, 3 November 2012).

The principles of the 1994 RDP housing policy were outlined in Chapter 03; this section examines the spatial consequences of the expectations created by that policy. Today's legacy of the 1994 ANC's intent to house the homeless are the waiting lists to which Mr. Ntombela refers above. What his comment and my interviews reflect is a growing lack of belief in the existing ANC policies and the government's ability to make them happen, or in other words, a growing lack of hope in the government. However, my data shows that perhaps this is at the same time leading to an emergence of a politics of hope in its place. I use the timeframes of the waiting list as a scaffold to understand how waiting has impacted informal residents' development of their own spaces. The primary theorists whom I have brought into this study, Heidegger (1949), Lefebvre (1991) and Deleuze and Guattari (1987), all state that in order to understand the resultant processes of human activity (space) there must be a temporal element. On the one hand, Heidegger and Lefebvre root their concepts of place in history; an element of that is appropriate to this study in light of the inherited apartheid urban form and post-colonial/post-oppressed mindset that particularly the poor fight to get out from under (Fanon, 1961). On the other hand, Rajchman (2000:94) argues that Deleuze and Guattari root place in people's "manners of being"...and their distribution in space and time'; or in other words, residents' agency in forming their spaces in the everyday. Together with the insights

from the previous chapter, these time/space engagements become a framework with which to understand South Africa's urban informal spatial development and upgrading efforts. Much of the Heidegger/Lefebvre element of this equation, in other words, the apartheid history, has been discussed in previous chapters, primarily Chapter 03.

In this section I wrestle with how Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of time contributes to the understanding of place in Harry Gwala and Makause informal settlements. Rajchman (2000:97) suggests that Deleuze's concept of 'becoming other' is the 'process in which we depart from our given or constituted selves without knowing quite who or what we may become'. I parallel this with Fanon's (1961:135) notion, placed in the post-colonial African context, that formerly oppressed 'people [need] to find their own vernaculars and practices for realising themselves as creator of life' in the process of change. In other words, formerly oppressed people need to find transition from the mind of the oppressed to that of freedom, without really knowing freedom. Likewise, Simone (2005:40) eludes to people's need for time in which to find a 'capacity for a confident self-fashioning', which he argues is as important as the need for space in which to inhabit. I draw on these concepts to examine the temporal element of informal settlement. There are two temporal frameworks in this study: first, the timeline of the physical acts of occupation/consolidation/development, which was discussed in section 2 of Chapter 06; and second, the timeline of the social transition in residents' lives through these processes of informal settlement and upgrading, which I address here. At the heart of this conversation is the binary dynamic of waiting and hope, which centres on the now seemingly inextricable link between housing and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa (Ross, 2010; Pithouse, 2012).

section08.1.1 Residents' expectations: how waiting impacts space

My interviews in the two case study communities brought to light the widespread phenomenon of waiting. Interestingly, as the following text will bear out, the dynamics of waiting as related to the residents' expectations from the government are quite different in the two communities. I have drawn a parallel between waiting, the residents' rate of voting, and their belief in the government's actions. This reflects

an enlightening contradiction and begins a conversation on citizenship, democracy, hope and space which will continue through the chapter.

Almost exclusively, the people interviewed at Harry Gwala stated or implied that the government's promises of development, and their waiting for the fulfilment of those promises, significantly contributed to the consolidation of their living environments. This begs the question: Have the government's promises distorted the informal residents' 'capacity for a confident self-fashioning' (Simone, 2005:40)? In the nearly twenty years since Harry Gwala was given 'the permission of the Wattville Council to develop...for residents purposes' (Mr. Anderson, personal communication, 24 Nov. 1993), only two households of those interviewed have shown evidence of this 'confident self-fashioning' manifested in living space consolidation. Miriam explains that 'they [Wattville Town Council] told us in 1994 that there is nothing wrong with the place and that those who have money can build a house, it's then that we started to build' (Ms. Gwala, interview, 20 Sept. 2008) (Figure 07.17). The other resident who did not mention waiting is Catriene (Ms.Mdlalose, interview, 6 Sept. 2008). Now a pensioner, she and her husband have consolidated their dwelling, replacing corrugated metal with moulded concrete siding and have a vegetable and an ornamental garden. Ms. Gwala has a business raising and selling chickens, and has close relations with her neighbours. She identifies her home and the Wattville cemetery, where family members are buried, as the most important places to her. Her story reflects the socio-spatial concepts of place discussed in the previous chapter. Yet what of the physical realities of the developing equitable, liveable space?

My data reflects that these two stories are exceptions; in Harry Gwala the vast majority of those interviewed commented on waiting for the ANC to recognise urban informals and implement the post-apartheid policy for a dignified living environment for all. Further findings suggest that this waiting effectively manifests around two concepts, citizenship and invisibility. The first relates to citizenship's act of voting, a right experienced by all of these residents for the first time in 1994. In Harry Gwala, nearly all the interviewees voted in the last election, and yet, the majority said that

they had lost their faith in the government. Interestingly, Miriam and Catriene are among the small minority of residents who still have faith in the government.



Figure 08.1: Miriam Gwala's⁹ consolidated house and garden in Harry Gwala informal settlement.

Makause tells a bit of a different story. There, just over half of the interviewees commented on waiting for the government, a number significantly lower than Harry Gwala. The others said that they do not look to the government to improve their lives, and in fact don't want help. In this light, Nancy (Ms. Maapola, interview, 28 Aug. 2008) speaks of close connections with friends and neighbours and proudly shows me around the improvements that she and her husband (both employed) have made to their stand, 'I get bricks from the dump. I want to build with bricks because it is important to us...I want visitors see my improvements with bricks and the nice garden' (Figure 07.18). Bukhosibakhe (Mr. Mflatelwa, interview, 21 July 2010), a spaza shop owner, member of the crime patrol and 2010 World Cup volunteer, says that 'the government usually only comes here during election times, so you see we have to build ourselves up'. And Ronald (Mr. Makgwarela, interview, 21 July 2010), who has his own recycling business and proudly talks of his daughter going to college on his earnings, tells me that 'things only change if you are doing it for yourself, not if you are begging from someone else, and it is better that way'. None of the interviewees in this group are over 40 years old; therefore this perhaps reflects a changing attitude among some of the younger residents. The conversations around voting were also somewhat different; three-quarters of Makause interviewees voted in the last election and half have no faith in government. While I am admittedly extrapolating a trend from a relatively small

⁹ Miriam has no relation to the (apartheid) struggle era politician Harry Gwala for whom the settlement is named.

interview pool from just two communities, these responses indicate that the informal residents are fulfilling the actions of citizenship, in this case the right to vote, and yet most don't believe that they will be treated as citizens by their government. In other words, they are waiting for a government that they don't believe will do anything.



Figure 08.2: Nancy Maapola's flower garden and brick dwelling.

This leads to the second manifestation of waiting, invisibility. Selmeczi (2012:499) suggests that the invisibility of the urban poor is the consequence of the spatial practices of the leadership in South Africa's 'aspiring "world class cities"', who, she argues, are creating a 'distinction between useful and disposable lives' in those cities. This parallels Mbembe's (2011) earlier comments. The previous paragraphs spoke to a government promise for a better life that has not been fulfilled. I suggest that there is a fundamental difference between that and residents' feelings that the government has closed its eyes to their suffering. The former can be aligned with the end of apartheid and the conviction that Mandela's ANC will improve the lives of all citizens in the new South Africa over the course of time. The latter speaks more to the unfulfilled socio-economic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the increasing invisibility of the urban poor. Basic service provision and tenure security were repeatedly brought up by the residents in conversations relating to living environments with increasing desperation from the 2008 interviews to the 2010 interviews. In Harry Gwala, I was told: 'we are waiting, waiting, waiting and nothing is happening' (Mr. Mhlongo, interview, 20 Sept. 2008); or 'it is five years since the city said they were going to upgrade here but nothing has changed' (Ms. Maselela,

interview, 25 July 2010). And in Makause, people expressed their despair: ‘slow pace of development’ (Mr. Nkosi, interview, 6 Sept. 2008); ‘everything is the same...today is Friday and every weekend someone dies’ (Ms. Mjoli, interview, 23 July 2010); ‘there is no change...we are struggling’ (Ms. Majali, interview, 23 July 2010); and ‘there is no improvement...no assurance of safety’ (Ms. Zwane, interview, 3 July 2010). The majority seem almost paralysed by this state of limbo. Is it, in the language of Deleuze, that they cannot “become other”; or as Fanon puts it, that they are unable to find their vernacular and to realise themselves in a way that is recognised and visible to the formal city? Or is it a lack of political will that makes the formal city blind? This chapter goes on to explore these questions, through informal settlement residents’ political agency to demand their democratic rights, in a sense formalising themselves through their use of social movements and the Constitution. Bazino (Mr. Lihlabi, interview, 25 July 2010), a member of Harry Gwala’s leadership, tells me that when residents organise themselves and feel that they are part of something bigger, they gain a sense of camaraderie, which leads to hope.

section08.2 Examining informal residents’ agency and their role in *in situ* upgrading

In Chapter 02, I discussed the political agency of the poor in relation to informal settlement and from this two general trends in academic thought came to light. On the one hand, De Soto (2000:37) describes the poor as ‘heroic entrepreneurs’, who, with reform to the legal system, could participate in mercantilism and thus have an avenue out of poverty. In other words, the informal sector, or ‘extralegal sector’, is a separate body from the formal sector, and it is in need of formal input in order to move forward. On the other hand, Holston (1998) outlines a concept of insurgent citizenship based on urban citizenship and the right to the city. Also from this perspective are the thoughts of Bayat (2000:536) and Simone (2004:407), with their notions of ‘quiet encroachment’ and ‘people as infrastructure’ describing the systematic negotiations by the poor to navigate the urban landscape and fulfil their needs for basic livelihood. These, in the second group, reflect a shift in thinking toward the concepts around insurgency and subalternism; the cornerstone of both is the poor’s political agency or ability to act for themselves. Roy (2011) suggests that this agency is the mechanism for change, but that first it must shed its associated “slum” stereotypes, which again was part of the discussion in Chapter 02.

Embedded in the concept of agency is action. Whereas the previous sections used waiting as a means to interject time into space, this section attempts to effect a similar end by way of informal residents' actions of popular political agency. The undercurrent in both of these socio-spatial engagements with time, is hope. It was shown that waiting proved to be what Ross (2010:5) eluded to as the 'erasure of hope'. This section examines how, through action, informal communities realise empowerment and hope. To this end, it examines social movements, legal action, the role of South Africa's Constitutional Court, and participatory planning.

section 08.2.1 Scalar influences: the impact of social movements and the state on informal development

The ethnographic analysis in the previous chapter brought to light significant differences in the social processes and by extension spaces/places in Harry Gwala and Makause. Here the study examines the role that social movement (LPM and ISN respectively) have played in the bottom up upgrading efforts of those communities. My data reflects that there is a diversity in communities' popular political agency in relation to these movements. In part this is a result of the individuals involved and in part the character of the communities, this discussion does not reflect a judgement, but rather an exploration of the differences and similarities.

Nicholls (2009:78) acknowledges the intangible character of social movements as 'social movement space', thus giving it the physical quality of space. He then goes on to locate its social relevance with the term 'activist places'. Appadurai (2010:2) suggests that this 'global network' is the result of several fundamental shifts in the latter 20th and early 21st centuries. He attributes it to the global dissemination of: 'the ideology of human rights', the understanding that democracy is more than a political process, it is 'dignity and livelihood'; the affordability of cell phones, internet access and social media, 'activism without borders'; and finally, the connections between disease and poverty to the world economy and terror (*ibid.*2). The comments of Alfred (Mr. Moyo, interview, 16 July 2010), from the Makause leadership adds to this, indicating that visiting students and academics take local, community issues to a global scale *via* publication and popular media. He goes on to make the point that this transcending growth of technology use has 'encourage[d]

the greatest diversity of popular and transnational civil society movements that we have witnessed in the history of mankind', which he suggests has fuelled a 'cosmopolitanism from below' (Appadurai, 2010:1). This form of cosmopolitanism, like any other, he argues is about increasing knowledge, broadening horizons, evolving personal and cultural identities and so on; and significantly to the discussion in this chapter, he connects it to 'the politics of hope and the promise of democracy as a space of dignity as well as of equality' (*ibid.*1). But it is also worth reflecting on Pithouse's (2008c and 2012) cautious thinking on Transnationalism, the syncretic character of social movements and what in fact is giving real value to people on the ground. He voices the concern that with transnationalism there can be a loss of autonomy, pointing out that it is the autonomy in the end that has real value on the ground (Pithouse, 2008c). This loss can occur both through the process of co-option by international NGOs with broader agendas, and through the syncretic nature of social movements as they draw information from many diverse sources, such as SDI and its local affiliate ISN. This parallels Huchzermeyer's (2011:172) suggestion that 'SDI's ISN...does not consistently resonate with local voices that have challenged the "slum" eradication agenda since 2004'. Returning to Pithouse's argument, he cites the work of Marcelle de Souza to highlight the sense in which this builds a strength and fragility into these movements. Further, he notes that de Souza's review of Brazilian social movements is a source of hope:

'the dissident territories which are created by the insurgent special practices of those movements are bastions of an economic, political and cultural resistance in the framework of which local and regional particularities are highly valued and at the same time a universal message (freedom and solidarity) is sent' (de Souza, 2006:329).

My data reflects that the connections and actions on the ground in Harry Gwala and Makause, are at the local, regional, and national levels. While admittedly these are influenced by larger scales of dissemination, the critical awareness by key members of these communities for the need for local autonomy effected the limited embrace of the grander implications that can come with social movements. Of most interest to this study is the communication technology, because during my fieldwork I witnessed the savvy with which many residents find ways around cell phone costs so that they can stay connected and have internet know-how to post and download information from the Internet in the communities. Residents charge their phones at the local police station or for a small fee from car batteries or informal electrical connections;

they use the internet at the public library or through academic connections and at their workplaces. Many of them are well connected on a global scale.

In Harry Gwala, Bazino (Mr. Lihlabi, interview, 25 July 2010), is the affiliate to LPM, the social movement with which the community has been aligned since 2004 (Mnisi's account of this is presented in Huchzermeyer, 2011:225-7). The association began as a result of newspaper coverage of the illegal evictions in Harry Gwala. The link between the social movement and the community cannot be characterised as particularly active on a daily basis; however, as Bazino points out, there have been major outcomes as a result of this affiliation. He listed the first among these as the introduction to human rights lawyer Moray Hathorn, who has been the community's ongoing *pro bono* legal counsel since 2004. The other significant consequence is less tangible; it is the psychological impact of being part of something bigger. Bazino (*ibid.*) suggests that the relationship with the LPM began with suspicion, 'We looked at them and we said we are tired of people who come from outside, they come to help us but really they are people who want to capsize us'.

He described the first mass meeting when Maureen Mnisi, the Gauteng head of LPM, came and expressed the sentiment that 'they are going to help us with this place because they are having the very same problem'. At this meeting, Harry Gwala residents spent their meagre funds to buy LPM t-shirts, a tangible symbol of this affiliation. They wear these t-shirts when they toy-toy in the street for their rights, and it makes them feel more powerful (*ibid.*). But Bazino's further comment that 'even now [the residents] ask about the t-shirts. They say: we want another t-shirt, tell Maureen to bring t-shirts here so that we can uplift the LPM' implies the sophistication with which the residents understand that just as they are empowered by the larger movement, they also empower it. I query the source of this bond and Bazino tells me it is the connection between LPM and their *pro bono* lawyer Moray Hathorn, 'they believe in Moray so much'. By extension, this reflects their belief in the power of their constitutionally guaranteed rights and their belief that Moray Hathorn is the crucial mechanism with which they can access those rights. Greenberg (2004:1) describes LPM as 'representatives of landless formations from around South Africa [which] came together to form a national umbrella to take their struggles

forward in a united way'. However, Bazino's insight, when I asked him about other social movements, was that: 'Actually I can't say what is the difference because most of the time we are working with LPM, ISN they just come now, now so I don't see any difference between those two' infers that the real strength is the psychological benefit of being part of something bigger. In contrast, Mr. Mofokeng (interview, 26 Feb. 2008), an executive manager at Ekurhuleni Department of Housing, and until recently the lead official for participatory planning, described Harry Gwala in the period leading up to and including 2004 as a 'no-go zone'. Mr. Hathorn (interview, 21 July 2010) described the legal action in 2004 as the turning point with the City.

As a precursor to the following description of the relationship between the Makause leadership, primarily Alfred Moyo, and ISN, it is worth remembering the concerns brought up in Chapter 03. Multiple sources cited potential co-option of grassroots organisations by SDI's ISN, and that this dynamic has become a tool for the international NGO to access local development decision-making and funding sources (see for instance Huchzermeyer, 2011). As will be shown in the course of the account, Alfred also found the ISN dynamic to be troubling.

In his role as housing activist and member of the Makause leadership, Alfred (Mr. Moyo, interview, 8 Sept. 2008) describes how he is able to network with other social movements around greater Johannesburg and South Africa. Alfred, in his role as a member of the Makause leadership, is the elected chairperson of Ekurhuleni ISN. He explained this process:

'Actually the ISN is made up of the grassroots community leadership. It is made from bottom up. I was elected by Makause to represent them at ISN. Every community does this, then those representatives from Ekurhuleni elect regional leaders, then we come back and organise the regional teams or structures. In January 2009 we established Ekurhuleni ISN, it was there that I was elected the chairperson for Ekurhuleni. Elected by all other representatives from EMM' (interview, 16 July 2010).

Alfred contends that there are two major roles of social movements: first, to educate and train community leaderships on their socio-economic rights, which they must then disseminate to their communities (*ibid.*); and second, to increase the voice of the informal residents, because as he puts it, 'one way or the other...the challenges facing the informal settlements are mostly the same' (*ibid.*). He acknowledges that this is still in transition but envisages its power to help the community:

'network connections are coming closer to us, the community hasn't seen the benefit of this yet but it really makes a big difference. I am talking to the Metro Police, Protea House [old age services], Treatment Action Campaigns, we are struggling toward a better direction. It really makes a difference not being on our own, by networking and working with other organisation struggling...I talk with *Abahlali* in Durban and the Anti-eviction Campaign in Cape Town. It is a very good experience because we get to learn from their experiences, some of their problems are also our problems. It gives us a way or approach with how to deal with such matters, some of the residents might not understand, but we in the forefront of the struggle for Makause, it gives us a direction to follow and a way to address the challenges we are facing'.

When I was with Alfred he was regularly getting calls, to help other community leaders through the social movement ISN; to organise meetings; or funding for projects from the NGOs SDI and CORC (associated with SDI) and so on. Conversely, in the years during which I have interacted with Alfred and Makause, I have witnessed how this ability to be electronically connected, which then leads to physical actions, can go beyond the capacity of the individuals involved. Often, after interviewing with Alfred in Makause I would drive him to informal settlement communities around Ekurhuleni to meet with the community leadership, or pass on documents from NGOs, because he didn't have the money for taxi fares. When I wasn't there he often walked incredible distances to carry out missions for lawyers, NGOs or movements who either had not thought to give him a taxi fare for this task, or said they would reimburse him. He would go to community leaders to disseminate information that the leaders then sometimes didn't follow through on or share with their communities. Though sometimes discouraged, he continued because he believed that networking connections are the way forward. Academics came from different countries and he gave his time freely because they offered international assistance in return, most of which did not materialise. All of this led to varying levels of empowerment, disenchantment, and exploitation, and led to his eventual distancing from ISN (Mr. Moyo, interview, 16 July 2010).

Returning to the idea of cosmopolitanism, it is worth noting that the concept, as used in this context, has both ontological and real footings. Here I draw on the thread of activism as it was discussed in Chapter 04, where Foucault, Lefebvre, Bourdieu, and Deleuze and Guattari all pointed to the problematic nature of knowledge and power in spatial production. With this in mind, cosmopolitanism implies a drawing of ideas across socio-cultural and political borders. However, this process warrants closer examination, for the consequences of this knowledge can include more than the

positive dissemination of ideas expressed thus far. It can also be the cause of repression and personal attacks. It needs to be acknowledged that the multi-cultural nature of the informal settlements, as witnessed in Lee Anne's (Ms. Maidens, interview, 15 July 2010) description of her neighbours in Makause: 'the landlord, he is friendly and helpful, he's from Mpumalanga. The people who stay here, two of them are from Mpumalanga, one is Zulu, and the other one is Shangaan, so it's fine'; this mirrors South Africa's multi-ethnic, multi-cultural complexion. The continual interfacing of different languages, social norms, religious beliefs and so on goes on at state, local, formal and informal levels; while it 'broadens horizons', it is also complex. It suggests that this arena can also be susceptible to acts of often economically driven, 'state defend[ed] class interests', ethnic hatred, and repression (Lefebvre, 1991:383). Alfred, (Mr. Moyo, interview, 8 Sept. 2008) by his own admission is not well educated, but following his personal experience of illegal eviction and attempted relocation he educated himself. He established a wide network of sources, both physical and electronic, local and national (*ibid.*). He learned his human rights and his socio-economic rights and the implication of these on the space which he and his community occupy (*ibid.*). His subsequent role as a housing activist has led to the burning of his shack, conflicts with the local ANC, and persecution by the police (*ibid.*; De Waal, 2012).

Through social movements and NGOs at the local, national and international levels, informal settlement leadership and residents in South Africa learn how their counterparts in places such as India and Brazil face similar challenges. As Alfred pointed out, 'when their problems are also our problems', a lot can be learned. Appadurai (2010:8) suggests that this environment fosters what he terms 'deep democracy'; it is 'the democracy of suffering and trust; of work and slum defence...of small-scale borrowings and repayments' and so on. This 'democracy of neighbourhood, community, kinship and friendship' was highlighted in the interviews in the previous chapter (*ibid.*:8). However, with this concept of 'deep democracy' one must also reflect on the discussion on power, knowledge, and space in Chapter 04 and the cautions inferred in Pithouse's (2008c and 2012) thoughts above.

section 08.2.2 Networking and legal action

In both Harry Gwala and Makause, knowledge gained through networking led to legal action around illegal evictions. As was mentioned above, it was Harry Gwala's direct association with the Provincial leadership of LPM that led to the retention of Moray Hathorn as their legal counsel. Hathorn (interview, 21 July 2010) describes the situation when this association began:

'At that time they were under acute threat of eviction and relocation, the lorries were there and the Red Ants were removing people to Chief Lethuli. It was a desperate situation. I was being called on a Saturday morning because the lorries were there rounding people up and I was having to call the officials and say to them "you cannot take people unless they consent or you have a court order". The upshot was, I do believe that nobody was taken that didn't want to go. And that sort of an effort to remove them came to a halt, it stopped'.

Huchzermeyer (2006:7) points out that through associations with such legal resources as Mr. Hathorn, communities have become aware of their rights under the National Department of Housing's legislation: 'immediate provision of basic services, inclusion of all residents, minimal disruption to livelihoods, community empowerment, community participation in decision-making, development of community facilities, alternative forms of tenure, etc'. Since 2005, Hathorn (personal communication, 18 March 2005) has built a case around the Housing Code's Chapters 12 and 13 policies regarding *in situ* upgrading. As the following section will describe in detail, this has culminated in the 2008 Johannesburg High Court and 2009 Constitutional Court cases based on interim service provision. In the interim years since 2004, the community and Ekurhuleni Housing had been in ongoing negotiations. The City came up with reason after reason (environmental, geotechnical, health and so on) why the Harry Gwala settlement was not suitable for upgrading, and the legal counsel refuted every claim (*ibid.*). Finally in August 2006, the City put through an application to the Province to upgrade *in situ* under the guidelines of Chapter 13 of the Housing Code. No signs of development occurred. But rather than losing hope, as Hathorn put it:

'In 2007, people felt emboldened to ask for another meeting to request interim services. To ask for toilets, which we were told was not possible. For refuse removal, which we were told would happen. And for electricity, which we were told we would have to wait until July to hear about that. Nothing happened' (*ibid.*).

It was at this point that the community approached Moray to bring suit against the City. He is always very clear that it is the community and its leadership that makes

these decisions. In other words, he is very clear that it is popular political agency that is the power behind his work.

Makause's chronicle of legal action began at a 'housing beneficiary workshop' in February 2007 where they were told that the community was to be evicted (Mr. Moyo, interview, 8 Sept. 2008; Kuny and Moyo, 2008). Shortly thereafter, a mass meeting at the community to organise a response was broken up by the police (*ibid.*). Effectively, they were given ten days notice that they would be relocated to Tsakane 10, 40 km away (*ibid.*). Although that location did not meet the requirements of Chapter 12 of the Housing Code, the City carried on with the evictions (*ibid.*). It was later shown that the documents of consent allegedly signed by residents were fraudulent (*ibid.*). This led to an emergency court order through the efforts of Advocate Steve Kuny. Alfred (Mr. Moyo, interview, 8 Sept. 2008) was directly involved in these evictions, which led to his self-education through social movements, as described above. It was this networking that led to his engagement with the socio-economic rights in South Africa's Constitution. In the same year, on the day he organised a housing rights march, his shack was burned to the ground with all his belongings in it. It was understood that this was a direct consequence of his role in leading the legal challenges against Ekurhuleni for illegal evictions. For the next few months Makause struggled to find legal representation. The evictions had stopped, but the community returned to the *status quo* of uncertainty.

On 11 June 2008, Alfred and fellow Makause committee member Michael were invited to the Roundtable on Informal Settlement Upgrading at Wits University in the School of Architecture and Planning. This contact was a result of Alfred's networking in the region and it opened the opportunity for him to meet members of social movements, municipal and provincial officials, and members of the legal profession from all over South Africa. Over lunch, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University agreed to take on Makause's case. Their case has since been transferred to the Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI).

As the images in Chapter 06 showed, both Harry Gwala and Makause underwent significant spatial change as a result of the illegal evictions discussed here. However,

in both instances this represented a catalyst or turning point from the passive hope of waiting to the active hope of action.

section 08.2.3 The Constitutional Court's decision on Nokotyana v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality: Time versus socio-economic rights

Harry Gwala and Makause's legal actions have escalated to the higher courts in an effort to implement the existing policies of *in situ* upgrading. In a sense, this shift from the lower Court efforts to stop evictions to the higher Courts to demand a change in upgrading approach is what Sandercock (2003:178) is referencing, admittedly in a Western context, as the shift from 'putting out fires' to a change in '*modus operandi*'. It is a demand by the residents that the City hear their voices and their needs, a demand as citizens under the Constitution. As the section will show, Harry Gwala's case and Makause's case preparations represent efforts by the network of housing rights lawyers in greater Johannesburg to enforce the implication of *in situ* upgrading under the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme of the Housing Code. Harry Gwala's legal counsel, Moray Hathorn (interview, 21 July 2010), chose to do this through direct appeal for interim services. Makause's counsel, SERI, is bringing an application in the Johannesburg High Court (date as yet unknown) with its eventual aim at the Constitutional Court, based on EMM's failure to make an application for funding to upgrade (Ms. Tissington, personal communication, 24 October 2012). In effect this draws from the experiences of the Nokotyana case; it is also a case demanding interim services, because these services fall within the application for funding.

However, Hathorn (interview, 21 July 2010) made clear to me that in the Harry Gwala case they also wanted 'to address the constitution's intent of dignity and equality' with the statement that 'sanitation should be addressed on this ground'. This speaks to the power of the constitution as a tool in the hands of poor communities and social movements to demand their equal rights as citizens, which as Bilchitz (2010), Kapindu (2011), and O'Connell (2011) all suggest, is being undermined by recent decisions and the current trends of jurisprudence in the Constitutional Court. In other words, the transitional and developmental powers of the Constitution are at stake.

In reflection after the ruling had been handed down, Hathorn (interview, 21 July 2010) commented that the Constitutional Court did not accept either of these arguments. Instead, the Court ruled that the time period, the three year delay from 2006-2009, was the real crux of the case. Bilchitz (2010) suggests that the rejection of the argument based on dignity and equality guaranteed by the Constitution points to the issue of the Court's problematic jurisprudence around socio-economic rights. Pieterse (2007), Bilchitz (2010) and Kapindu (2011) all suggest that a lack of defined content in the socio-economic rights outlined in the Constitution, the Court's use of procedural technicalities, and its misuse of the 'reasonableness test' all serve to undermine the Constitution's power as a transformative agent in South African society. Bilchitz (2010:no page number) states that the Court becomes 'simply the arbiter of whether the government's actions are reasonable'. This is echoed by Kapindu (2011:218) who states that 'the Court had regrettably decided to reduce itself to a passive onlooker'. The Court's finding in the Nokotyana case, that: 'As long as the status of the settlement [Harry Gwala] remains in limbo, little can be done to improve the situation regarding sanitation and lighting', underlines this (*ibid.*:2). Not only has their ruling, that the province make a final decision on upgrading the community within 14 months of the Court's decision (January 2011), done little to alleviate the living conditions of the poor residents; but as Bilchitz (2010) points out, it has eroded the political agency of the poor, as they lose faith in the Court as a tool of social justice.

Kapindu (2011) and O'Connell (2011), among others, argue that at stake in decisions like Nokotyana and Mazibuko¹⁰ is the question of the protection of socio-economic rights under South Africa's Constitution. In his review of the Constitutional Court's Nokotyana decision, Kapindu (2011:76) writes that

'the rather mundane manner in which the claims in this case were dismissed does resonate with the sentiments of those who have started a conversation on "the death of socio-economic rights"...in Nokotyana, the socio-economic rights claims of desperately poor litigants for the provision of the basic necessities of life seem to have been shipwrecked'.

He describes the Court's decision on this case and others in this realm as 'a perilous retreat from the court's fairly progressive jurisprudence on socio-economic

¹⁰ Mazibuko and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others, 2009 addressed people's right to access water under section 27 of the South African Constitution. The Constitutional Court overruled the local judge's finding that the City had to provide more water.

rights' (*ibid.*:201). This trend in the higher courts parallels the shift in legislature away from need based policy, as was discussed in the introduction to this chapter (Mbembe, 2011).

O'Connor (2011:551) takes it a step further pointing out that this shift in the courts is causing socio-economic rights to be

'fundamentally undermined through a pincer movement which on the one hand distorts and narrows the meaning of socio-economic rights, stripping them of their egalitarian potential, and on the other by macro-economic policies, including privatisation and commodification of essential services, which fundamentally undermine peoples' ability to enjoy these rights, thereby reducing the promise of socio-economic rights to mere empty rhetoric'.

He points out that what set South Africa's Constitution apart in 1996 was its inclusion of socio-economic rights and its sentiment of social transformation; and like Kapindu (2011), he notes the early progressive role of South Africa's post-apartheid constitutional jurisprudence. However, he then singles out *Mazibuko v City of Johannesburg* (2009) and *Nokotyana v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality* (2009) as the turning point; they are, he says, 'the most worrying example of judicial harmonisation of domestic constitutional praxis with respect to socio-economic right so as to entrench the neo-liberal world view' (*ibid.*:551-2). This claim of a global trend in constitutional rights becoming overshadowed by the hegemonic practices of neoliberalism ties directly back to the comments of Miraftab (2009) and others in Chapter 02. It is also in line with Huchzermeyer's (2011) and Pithouse's (2012), among others', concerns reviewed in the previous section of international NGOs and transnationalism co-opting local, grassroots movements. O'Connell's (2011:554) concluding comments suggest his belief that the Courts still hold a critical potential for social change. He makes the point that socio-economic rights and 'counter-hegemonic movements will play a key role' in any struggle for an alternative future to that of the privatisation of basic necessities promised under the neoliberalism. This again parallels Miraftab's (2009:34) statement that 'counter-hegemonic movements' can destabilise neoliberal order. Returning to the context of greater Johannesburg, this argument becomes a rationale for SERI's preparations to again demand basic services for the residents of Makause.

section 08.2.4 Ekurhuleni's chemical toilet rollout: a case of failed democracy from the top down and the bottom up

This section speaks to Pithouse's (2012) earlier comment that informal settlement communities' undetermined status can lead to vulnerability from above and below. Here I use EMM's 2009 chemical toilet rollout to explore the roles of bottom up self-organisation and top down development agendas in the socio-spatial development of informal communities. My fieldwork shows that the democratically elected community committees in Harry Gwala and Makause play significant roles in the daily social lives of residents; in the development patterns of the communities; and in engaging outside stake holders. I found that the engagement with actors outside the community in particular becomes layered in complexities. The action and consequence both from the sides of the community and from the State parallels Oldfield and Stokke's (2006:152) observation that community based action is 'more complex than a dualism of engagement and activism'. Oldfield and Stokke (2006) go on to challenge the 'polemical readings of urban politics' by questioning the usefulness of the neoliberal - non-neoliberal binary in solving significant urban problems. Based on my empirical findings, I use this same argument: the role of political dynamics in moving urban development forward, but instead examine it through the lens of democracy.

In the following discussion, I ask if democratic process should be protected in both top down and bottom up development practices. This locates both citizens' rights and socio-economic rights in the arena of political agency and examines them from both directions. The example I use is Ekurhuleni's chemical toilet programme, of one toilet for every ten families, as a form of interim service for all the municipality's informal settlements. Throughout the High Court proceedings of the Nokotyana case discussed above, EMM maintained that they had no policy for providing interim services to informal settlements; however, within a few weeks of receiving the date for the case's appeal in the Constitutional Court they came out with a resolution on interim service provision. In the next paragraphs is a characterisation of Harry Gwala and Makause's responses to this, based on interviews in the year following the programme roll-out.

It could be argued that O'Connell's (2011) comments at the end of the end of the previous section speak directly to the toilet roll-out in Harry Gwala. There he suggested that hegemonic development practices and the privatisation of basic services would undermine the agency of the urban poor. Bazino's (Mr. Lihlabi, interview, 25 July 2010) description of the EMM's toilet roll-out, below, suggests that just such hegemonic practices undermine the political agency of the community leadership, and in turn the residents' beliefs in a better future.

'Before these toilets came here we had a meeting with the councillor, it was on the 12th of December last year, 2009. The committee said to the councillor, "no wait about these toilets and then we'll see and we'll meet you again in January 2010 to discuss about this", and the councillor agreed. On the 17th of December I see the toilets are coming in. I call the councillor and say to him, "How - whats happening now?", he said to me, "About what Bazino?" I said, "Yes, the toilets are here, who authorised these people to bring the toilets here?" the councillor replied, "I don't know nothing." I said to him, "if you don't know nothing, I'll take these toilets back because no one authorised it to bring them here". The councillor responded, "No Bazino you mustn't take it back because they are already there just leave it like that"'.

The toilets stayed in Harry Gwala and the community was very upset, residents were ready to burn the toilets as they felt they were being forced upon them without due democratic process. The Civic Committee then called a mass meeting to calm the community.

In contrast, in Makause there is an entirely different dynamic, here we see how political agency from below can undermine democratic process. There is evidence from my interviews of gatekeeping by the community leadership on this major service delivery issue. Makause was slated for toilet delivery, but EMM was told by the MCDF that the community had decided that they did not want the chemical toilets (Mr. Moyo, interview, 5 July 2010). In response, Mokgosi (interview 12 July 2010), Director of Human Settlements Property and Institutional Support at EMM Department of Housing, explained that they no longer roll out toilets into communities where there is not consensus because of cases of residents destroying the services. I asked Alfred (interview, 16 July 2010) about this, and he makes a compelling argument:

'There has been no community participation. We find it unconstitutional that one toilet can be shared by 10 family. They enlisted the Red Ants which has no good relationship with the communities. Because if there is not a good understanding and relationship with the service provision then likely the community will destroy it. This chemical toilet is like the reintroduction of the bucket system that we had under apartheid and was abolished in 1995. We won't allow it to be reinstated to us. It is the very same thing, they are not properly serviced only someone comes

to empty the bucket. Nobody is dealing with the flies, nobody is looking at the hygienic issues, nobody is taking good care of them. If it is shared by 10 families then nobody can say I will keep it clean, I will put the chemicals and so on, because nobody is responsible. We've seen that system become disgusting during the apartheid regime, we've seen it becoming disgusting in other settlements where they pushed those toilets in. Here at Makause we said no. We don't want our community to get more diseases. We encourage other communities to say no'.

Mr. Mokgosi (interview, 12 July 2010) verified that the Red Ants are one of EMM's private contractors for service provision. He justified this, saying that while the Red Ants are notorious because of their activities in forced evictions, they are also the ones who come with blankets in an emergency (*ibid.*). Again O'Connell's (2011) warnings on the privatisation of basic services speak to the realities on the ground. However, of further concern is that this decision was made by the leadership without appropriate democratic process. My 2010 interviews with Makause residents reflect that the majority with whom I spoke knew nothing about the municipality's offer of chemical toilets. This would seem to imply that, rightly or wrongly, the decision was made by the MCDF without wider consultation within the community.

Given these arguments for and against the roll-out, a member of the legal profession working in this area and I discussed whether these empirical findings validate the lack of democratic process shown by the MCDF in Makause. Is it appropriate for community leadership to bypass democratic protocol and block basic service programmes when the City shows a clear lack of intent to provide interim services which would support a longterm commitment to *in situ* upgrading? My conclusion in the discussion with the community's legal representative was that while MCDF's argument made the decision more palatable, the lack of due process still represented a break in the democratic rights of the residents and as such further marginalises them (Tissington, personal communication, 24 October 2012).

section08.2.5 Harry Gwala and the process of realising the politics of hope

As indicated in my methodology in Chapter 05, the Harry Gwala case study in particular unfolded in a way that drew me, as a resource, into a process that demonstrates the residents' efforts to actualise their hopes. In the timeline of the community's socio-spatial history, there are significant fixed points of reference:

Table 08.1: The timeline of Harry Gwala's socio-spatial history and significant dates

1993	Harry Gwala receives the right to develop
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2004	Illegal evictions, alignment with the LPM, Harry Gwala retains Mr. Hathorn as legal counsel
2007	The community demands interim basic services
2009	The Constitutional Court decision and the chemical toilet roll-out
2012	EMM/Gauteng put two development plans on the table: A) 389 RDP style stands; or B) 500 units of 3 story walk-up flats.

Given the extent to which this chapter and the last have supplied socio-political process to that timeline, it is not surprising that the community chose to respond to this final point with a posture of hope. In October 2012, the HGCC, on behalf of the community, and Moray Hathorn approached me, with my training in landscape architecture and my history of engagement with the community. They asked me to assist them in designing a viable layout for the *in situ* development of Harry Gwala. This plan was to be based on the existing conditions in the community and to address the needs of all current residents. To this end, I spent three weeks in Harry Gwala in October/November 2012 building on my existing knowledge of the community and listening to the input from the committee and the residents. We put together a design/development team: the community members; myself; Moray Hathorn, as legal expert; Marie Huchzermeyer, as policy expert; Peter Roloff, as civil engineer with expertise in water and sewer system design; and Thobile Siphetu, former resident of Harry Gwala, land rights activist and former provincial organiser for Gauteng LPM. During this three week period, we had meetings with the committee, mass meetings with the community, and we documented existing conditions (Figure 08.3).



Figure 08.3: Community engagement with Harry Gwala: (left to right) meeting with the HGCC; residents voicing their concerns, needs and opinions; discussing *in situ* upgrading with community; documenting the residents' input.

This project represents a shift in design development methodology. As the design/development team, we came to the community with no layout or layout options in hand, and no suggestions for buy-in. We came empty-handed, with technical

knowledge, with the intent to support their efforts to generate a viable layout for the *in situ* upgrading of their own community. In the beginning many of the residents, particularly the women, were wary to come forward and voice their opinions and needs, and while it became clear that we needed a participatory protocol, we chose not to impose one. The committee persevered, and together we developed a process. As time went on, what became evident was the residents' level of excitement as their voices were welcomed and heard and their ideas were developed on paper. I wrote down their ideas, together we made sketches of them; and these augmented by our professional input, evolved into a plan. I incorporated the months of fieldwork, the observed social pattern, my understanding of drainage and slope, the engineer's ability to retrofit infrastructure into existing roads and footpaths minimising intrusion. Together we thought about how to implement sanitation with the dignity implicit in the Constitution. We thought about how to replace the women's gathering space, since there would be no public taps. We gently densified stands to make room for social and physical amenities.

In response to the residents' active participation, we were able to produce a set of 10 design boards, which describe: why *in situ* upgrading is appropriate for Harry Gwala; what the residents want to see done there; and the technical expertise by which it can be achieved (Appendix C). The community is now in the process of engaging National, Provincial, and Municipal Departments of Housing/Human Settlement, coming from below with this document in hand as *their* proposal to put on the table. If this is unsuccessful, they and Moray Hathorn will take it to the Constitutional Court to show that it is viable according to the verbiage of the National Housing Code and that the municipality and province have not pursued it as an avenue of development. This story parallels Sandercock's (2003:172) notion of 'a core story that is about the *organisation of hope*. The work of the community leaders, and of the leading activist planner [and team]...can be described as...a very human story in which individuals support and inspire each other'.

This plan is in effect a symbol of the shift of Harry Gwala residents from a hope based on waiting to a hope empowered by action. This shift represents the residents' desires as citizens to move away from the philosophy of representative

democracy that became further engrained in South African society with the 1996 adoption of GEAR, the market driven development approach, which replaced the need-based policy of the early post-apartheid years. These residents are showing that they are not 'human waste', that they have a voice and that they want to participate in their democracy. Pithouse (2008c:86) pointed to de Souza's (2006:330) message of 'insurgent special practices' as a means of hope, and that is what the residents of Harry Gwala are building. Their actions are reminiscent of Lula da Silva's sentiment of participatory democracy behind the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Worker's Party) slogan for the 1989 presidential campaign: 'Without Fear of Being Happy' (Sader and Silverstein, 1991:6). When asked the significance of this he responded:

'people are afraid to be happy. People are afraid to believe in the new, to try things that are untested. And we will never move forward without political will, without audacity, without daring. I hope the slogan leads people to fight for their own happiness' (*ibid.* 168).

This is what we witnessed in the participatory process in Harry Gwala - people who were afraid of this different way forward, and who then found their political agency and their political hope. The next hurdle for Harry Gwala's inclusion into the City, given the earlier words of Selmeczi (2012) on South Africa's urban aspirations of "world class cities", is to overcome the City's and Province's lack of 'political will'. The timeframe of this is urgent. The community has been disappointed by time lags and unfulfilled promises in the past, so there is concern that the residents' action based hope will lose its momentum.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the different ways in which waiting, hope, and democracy have been expressed in the living spaces of the informal settlements Harry Gwala and Makause. It set out two dynamics of engagement between time and space: waiting as a result of hope, and hope as a result of action. To this end, the study sequenced frames of inactivity and then activity against fixed points of temporal reference. In this way it becomes the fourth dimension of Deleuze and Guattari's language of refrain, *milieu* and territory. As such, it begins to elucidate the psychological facet of spatial production, in this case in terms of hope. It speaks to the content of the socio-economic rights of the Constitution in a way that justifies the intangible quality of dignity, as Moray Hathorn's choice of legal argument for a toilet.

It gets to the very core of why social process, and not institutionally embedded technocracy, needs to be the basis of informal upgrading. Through this it underlines the failings and success of democracy both in the hands of the government and in those of the people.

chapter 09 CONCLUSION: WHAT DOES THIS MEANS FOR *IN SITU* UPGRADING?

Introduction

This chapter draws the essential “how” and “what” from the preceding study. The first half of the chapter revisits the research processes that have occurred and how they have successfully or unsuccessfully supported the premise of the study. In a sense, it is examining this body of work using Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) same language of inquiry with which I examined the socio-political processes of informal settlement. Here, the research question, the conceptual framework, and the methodology become the refrains around which I understand the body of work as a whole.

The second half of the chapter then looks at the body of work with an eye to drawing out findings that can contribute to the larger conversation on informal settlement upgrading. With this in mind, I consider the reach of the study: is it just the studied settlements, the greater Johannesburg region, South Africa, or developing cities in general? Embedded in this question is Pithouse’s (2008c and 2012) ongoing conversation on the importance of community level autonomy, for it speaks directly to the issues of the generalisation and/or the transferability of the findings.

section09.1 Revisiting my research process

Effectively, my research process entailed identifying appropriate layers for inquiry; building the commensurate layers of data to elucidate the character and complexity of informal settlement; and presenting it as a legitimate, though deficient, urban form. The research question served as both starting point and signpost in this procedure. Chapter 04 established a strong theoretical presence in this study that went on to shape my approach to the fieldwork. However, this would not have proved effective without having first established a base upon which to start, an understanding of informality in both the South African and international arenas.

section09.1.1 Reconstructing the research question

I restate the research question here as the first step toward re-examining and responding to it: What are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal communities in relation to residents’ livelihood, recreational and empowerment

endeavours, and what is the significance of these to *in situ* upgrading approaches? And further, how does the changing character of place, through upgrading, evolving development or relocation impact these?

In light of Burawoy's (2009:43) methodological notion of reconstruction, that we should 'begin with our favourite theory but seek not confirmations but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory', it is important that I state my theory from which this question arose. The starting theory was that informal settlements are places, and that their socio-cultural character must be preserved in the upgrading process. This is based largely on Walker's (2001:3) contention, as was stated in Chapter 01, that

'housing all over the world has been recognised to be a highly cultural activity. It would be strange if the production of informal housing were any different. Such an explanation appears to deny the actors a cultural identity, simply because they are poor'.

In the following paragraphs I will look at both the confirmations and refutations because they both bring qualities to the bigger conversation on upgrading. To this end I will look at each piece of the research question individually.

What are the dimensions and expressions of place in informal communities in relation to residents' livelihood, recreational and empowerment endeavours? The core to this question's response lies in the socio-spatial study described in Chapter 07. However, just as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) suggest that place cannot be extracted from its relationship to the larger built form of urban spaces, the informal residents taught me the necessity of including the physical dimension of locale, as was discussed in Chapter 06. Reflecting on this, the operational value of Deleuze and Guattari's language of relational understanding becomes evident. Evaluating the dimensions of place gives opportunity to rethink how to map informality. Instead of the city map (space) as the starting point within which to define place, the starting point becomes residents' every day rhythms (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Janz, 2002). It is these rhythms that define place and in turn produce space (maps). Key to this is Janz's (2002:2) point 'that the territory is more than the abstractions of the map'. What he is suggesting is that the concept of map is turned upside down, that in fact the territory (rhythms and *milieus*) defines the map. Looking back at the research question this implies that the 'expressions' of place define the 'dimensions' of place.

This reading of dimension was examined in the study by questioning the 'mapped' formal/informal boundary, and exploring the concept of boundary through territories based on patterns of repeated rhythms that had value to residents. In both Harry Gwala and Makause, walking distance proved a critical measure for the residents' physical dimension of place. This underlined that location plays a significant role in community success when the residents are able to establish their need based territories without having to spend money for transportation.

This understanding was evidenced in the study's findings. At the micro level, the residents' personal territories varied from across town to across the neighbour's fence. These territories are the manifestation of individuals' needs and are shaped by the rhythms of engagement with built form, and as such are an ongoing negotiation defining place and space. This speaks to the contentious understanding of formal/informal and how these two are bounded. Mbembe (2000) put forth the concept of imbrication or overlap as an appropriate understanding of boundary in the African context. This is in line with the dynamic informal edge illustrated in Chapter 07, which showed a predominantly economic driven intermingling at the formal/informal interface.

The informal residents' rhythms of engagement with the city at a larger scale was touched on with the discussion in Chapters 03, 05 and 07. The taxis were presented as a cultural expression of the peripheral townships and settlements, and as such became platial actors that shape space as they move through the city. It was also proposed that they function as organising refrains for residents' larger territories. I believe that this is an effective and worthwhile concept, however the scope of my fieldwork fell short of following individuals (either riders or drivers) from the communities to understand these territories and thus be able to map them.

Location, as I learned from the residents, is also a source of power. Foucault, Lefebvre, Bourdieu, and Deleuze and Guattari all point to the primary implications of power through its dynamic with knowledge. The obvious implications of this point to technocracy, political agency and social movements. I will address technocracy later.

Here the findings argue that the power behind political agency and autonomous social movements comes from the actors' connections to their location in the city. These connections were articulated in the study through rhizomic social relationships both within and outside the community. This articulation illustrates how Deleuze and Guattari's language was the mechanism to substantiate evidence of social capital in informal settlement.

There is more to be learned from the dynamic of power in relation to political agency and social movements, and again the connection to local is pivotal. As has been discussed, the issue of co-option versus autonomy in the local grassroots efforts is key, with co-option comes a non-local agenda. The study's findings suggest that informal community leadership plays a crucial role in this. The leadership's savvy with social movements and in its democratic process at home proved to be what allowed both these communities to retain a level of autonomy as they exercised political agency in their development efforts.

I now turn to the relationship of power and technocracy. Aesthetic has been presented in this study as it relates to technocratic response and to power through defamiliarisation. Both of these lead to the challenge of addressing informality in its real form rather than as a crafted perception. Although the consequences of aesthetic was discussed thoroughly in the literature, at this point I must question whether the study achieved this in the context of the case studies. Ekurhuleni Municipality's general development trends were identified in Chapter 06, however more localised understanding of this has the potential to add usefully to the question of why the City (and Province) is not getting behind *in situ* upgrading as a mainstream urban development approach. The question of aesthetic also made it relevant to consider Harvey's (2012) bigger questions on lifestyle and social relations to understand the power thread in the institutional manipulation of development directions.

Additionally, as was discussed, Foucault (1980; 1984; 1990) and Roy (2004) among others points to the impact of institutionally rooted aesthetic amongst designers and researcher. I, myself, found that when I returned to the communities in 2010 and

2012 after being away, I was overwhelmed by the seeming chaos. Although I found that I rapidly reestablished my understanding of the rhythms of the settlements and recalled their spatial logic, this illustrates my own shortcomings as a middle class, white, female researcher in the context of urban poverty in Africa. Though I do believe I overcame the inevitable aesthetic that comes with my background and institutional training, at the same time I must accept that it left footprints in my study.

Aesthetic and power are also related to consumption and capital investment. Together they open the door to the necessary macro level conversation on neoliberalism's relationship to urban development through urban competitiveness. This dynamic has proven revelatory in understanding South Africa's struggles with need versus market driven development. On the one hand is the State's desire for economic sustainability, on the other is its fundamental promise of equity to all citizens. Arising from this contentious interrelationship is political will and its relationship to space. Both Mbembe (2011) and Selmeczi (2012) point to current leadership based on neoliberal principles which is undermining the socio-economic rights *vis-à-vis* right to the city of the urban poor. The evidence around Ekurhuleni's current urban strategy suggests that political will is on the side of urban competitiveness, and that this is driving the City's spatial development.

Within this arena of competitive driven urban spatial development, there is the seemingly inevitable link between informal settlement and pacification. The study brought to light two capacities related to pacification. First, as was discussed in Chapter 02, it enables the *status quo*. Informal residents are given just enough by the State that they continue to wait and accept. Conversely, as a second capacity my findings found that with the appropriate catalyst waiting and acceptance are transformed into impatience and action, in other words it becomes a source of agency. This transformation was chronicled in Chapter 08. It is worth noting again the significance of how this agency became a source of hope. In the course of the upgrading layout project it is here that informal communities found another voice.

Through the data presented in Chapter 07, and the Harry Gwala layout project in Chapter 08, my findings show that the relational understanding of informal place can

add to that voice. This method of spatial understanding takes power away from the role of the technocrat in the upgrading practice and gives it to the role of the residents *via* their own process of spatial production. In other words, understanding through relational language becomes the means to address informality in its real form by lessening the influence of institutional/state rooted aesthetic. thus lessening the influence of imposed or predetermined concepts and models.

This understanding of expression of place has need at its core. Turning once more to Lefebvre's genre of need, we follow the thread to spatial production through the dynamic of time. : He states that space must provide 'security and opening...certainty and adventure...isolation and encounter...immediate and long-term' (Lefebvre, 1991:147). Here the study methodology had to reconcile the different readings of the role of time in spatial production between Lefebvre and Deleuze and Guattari. The first suggests everyday actions rooted in history, the second acknowledges but diminishes the role history while emphasising the connection to present being. As was noted in the methodology review in Chapter 05, the combining of these two lines of thought allowed for the inclusion of both the apartheid legacy and the post-apartheid issues at hand. This will be discussed in further detail in the next subsection.

Two areas of the thesis brought together spatial and temporal dynamics. First, there is the social negotiation for livelihood, which Simone (2004) describes as a socio-spatial mechanism, and which ties expression and dimension together. This was seen in Harry Gwala and Makause with interpersonal relations for childcare, gardening, job search, and so on, highlighting the significance of the roles of neighbour and community. Second, there is political agency. Chapter 08 drew together such intangible assets as dignity and hope with the action of democratic process and the consequential empowerment which influences development.

Of note is the trend of process reflected in the study's findings. Both social process and democratic process, as they have been identified here, represent an engagement of time, space and socio-spatial relations in everyday life, something that Deleuze and Guattari expressed as essential in the understanding of place.

Madanipour (1996:25) states that '[t]here is little doubt that a dynamic conception of place would more realistically represent the multiplicity of social practices and identities'. In this study I make the argument that by representing the social practices and identities of the informal residents, I open the door to a better understanding of the character and functionality of their communities.

What is the significance of place to *in situ* upgrading approaches? This increased relational understanding of informal settlement, in the case studies of Harry Gwala and Makause, has shed light on informality's action-based production of space. The acquired appreciation of this spatial functionality and its role as a mechanism in livelihood and well-being becomes a rationale for working with community residents in bottom up *in situ* upgrading. To this end, the study on home morphologies in Chapter 07 revealed the diversity of private and public spatial use even between two communities. "Home" in Harry Gwala has a more communal character, while in Makause, where there is more developed public space, there is also an increased desire for privacy. These findings belie the homogenising trend of the "slum" aesthetic and suggests the need for increased technocratic sensitivity with Western socio-spatial models.

I now turn to the second half of the research question: How does the changing character of place, through upgrading, evolving development or relocation, impact dimensions and expressions of place? Cases of settlement upgrading from the literature were presented as part of this study, with Schlyter's (1981) longitudinal study of George, Zambia being the most comprehensive in its study of the impact on residents' lives. Within the scope of this study it was not possible to observe a community's change as a result of upgrading. The repercussions of evolving development were however presented with the chemical toilet roll-out as an interim service in Harry Gwala. In this case the study's operationalisation of Deleuze and Guattari's language was able to recognise changes in residents' behaviour, the toilets created *milieus* which changed patterns of daily habit not only directly related to sanitation but also in the critical relationships between neighbours.

Relocation was indirectly observed through the eviction of residents from Makause shortly before the study began. An addition to the study could have been to follow residents from Makause who had been relocated to Tsakane and remained there to see how their lives had been impacted. As was related in Chapter 07, interviews were conducted with residents who were relocated and then returned to Makause.

Additionally, within the case study sites, findings showed a significant relationship between location, the production of place, and residents' livelihoods. . With the changing character of place, there would be an interruption in the social rhythms, and thus social processes. This data was therefore extrapolated to reflect that the quality of place would be lost with relocation. This suggests that foreseeing and responding to the socio-spatial consequences would be a critical step in any *in situ* upgrading effort. This highlights the problematic nature of the provincial government's stated methodology to deliberately break up communities during upgrading (anonymous provincial official, interview, 30 July 2010).

section 09.1.2 How did the conceptual framework support the research question?

The key concept at the core of this study is the dynamic relationship between time, space and social relations. The foundation is Heidegger, Lefebvre and Deleuze and Guattari's reintroduction of the everyday into spatial understanding. Lefebvre's (1991) argument about representational space builds on this. His insistence to look beyond aesthetic preconceptions to the production of space speaks directly to the essence of the research question. It implies the criticality of looking beyond the apparent chaos of informal development to understand how and why the spaces evolved as they did.

For Lefebvre (1991), the space and time mechanism to interpret the everyday is the 'moment'; but of even more interest is Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'individuation'. Doel and Clarke (2004:106) describe this as a notion which 'enabl[es] the event of space to take place'. The difference is the understanding of an event through the past, or its understanding through the present. Drawing from this, I built a framework that looks at time not only in its historical engagement with space, but also time as a current spatial dynamic between lived space and political action. This

binary proved particularly relevant in South Africa, with its legacy of urban spatial segregation and its current contentious struggles between need and market-driven urban development. We are in a time when those struggles are escalating; the poor are becoming impatient for the promised change, and the cities are becoming more interested in becoming “world class”. As a result, the dynamic between space and political action is heightened and is increasingly defined by the tension between land value and human value.

This land use tension can be seen between the Harry Gwala community’s efforts for upgrading and the adjacent development of the OR Tambo Cultural Precinct with the proposed recreational area and hotels around the Leeupan The informal settlement doesn’t fit the aesthetic of the City’s development strategy. What the City has proposed as upgrades is in keeping with a tourism aesthetic, and does not have an eye towards land equity nor to the democratic rights to the city of the Harry Gwala residents. This is triggering a shift in the community from passive waiting to political action. Through the Courts, with demonstrations, at meetings with City and Province, and with their proposed layout, residents are raising their voices. As Chapter 08 showed, they are demanding their right to *that* place in the city and to upgrading it on their terms. These actions are giving the residents hope. However, if no action occurs then it is likely that ‘the slow erasure of hope that is poverty’s grinding legacy’ will return (Ross, 2010:5).

Mbembe (2000 and 2004:386) put forth a pre-colonial description of boundary as imbrication, or overlap; and the apartheid expression of boundary through ‘moral order’. How to define and address the boundary between formal and informal has been one of the themes through this study; the land tension around the development of Harry Gwala speaks to this. Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of disjunctive synthesis, or the mechanism with which connections (“and”) become the logic to describe space, was adopted into the methodology. Rajchman (2000:94) describes Deleuze and Guattari’s understanding of living environments as “‘manners of being’...and their distribution in space and time’, or in other words, an understanding of the relational production of space, which they perceive through nomadism or the examination of surroundings.

The connections were identified using the language of nomadism, of rhythm, refrain, *milieu*, and territory (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). This language became the study's mechanism for translating everyday processes into informal spatial production. The nomad concept is based on the premise that space is continually changing; thus it assumes the inclusion of different forms of action and the dynamics of time and sentiment. The empirical data expressed in Chapter 07 uses this methodology to communicate the residents' patterns of connections within their community and with their locale; as was shown, these reflect both bridging and bonding forms of social capital.

section 09.1.3 How did the methodology support the research question?

This study effectively incorporated the concepts of three methodologies: first, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) spatial language, which applied a method to the data collection; second, Burawoy's (2009) extended case methodology, which was the overarching scaffold for the research; and third, Action Research, (Fals-Borda, 2001) which was a means to layer complexity. Burawoy's (2009) strategy connects: the researcher and participant relationship; the effect of time on the space being observed; and the micro and macro forces shaping that space and time. He makes the argument that as researchers we are 'simultaneously participant and observer' (*ibid.*:9). This relationship proved appropriate to the narrative style of my interviews and to my observations of people in their private spaces. It allowed a quality of conversation rather than one of probing with people in a vulnerable environment. Exchanges of substance occurred when we got to know each other a little bit, sat down, laughed, and established some small amount of trust. I would add that the interviewee is also 'simultaneously participant and observer' (*ibid.*:9). The participants expressed curiosity about me, they asked why I was there doing the study; they asked to touch my hair; they sang and danced for me; and they fed me. The relationship between me and Bazino, Mr, Nokotyana, and Thobile in Harry Gwala, and Alfred in Makause, became close by virtue of our interest in each other and the volume of time we spent together. Alfred and Thobile are both passionate land (and women's rights) activists, which added another element to the relationships - they had an agenda that I needed to be aware of, and which I cannot

deny influenced some of my thought. It is Burawoy's (2009) and Fals-Borda's (2001) contention that all of this adds to the authenticity of the study, rather than detracting from it.

Repeated interactions between observer and participant, whether through structured interviews or casual meetings on the street, became a framework for the study's evaluation of space over time. The fluid nature of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) spatial language supported this style of data collection. Fals-Borda's (2001) notion of interpretational frames and multiple sources of cultural inquiry contributed; these became fixed points in the continually changing environment of the settlements. I used this tactic in Chapter 08 with the points of reference in Harry Gwala of evictions, social movements, the court case and so on, which allowed logical stopping points of this otherwise fluid research landscape. This combining of theories lent credence to the depth of socio-spatial understanding through the layering of social relations, music, literature, built environment, film, and so on, which allowed a complex image of the communities.

The predominant tool for understanding was Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) language. It was the mechanism for articulating how social and political action shape space over time. Rhythm followed the everyday movements, detailing the action and interaction of individuals in space. Refrain showed the pattern or organisational element of interaction. *Milieu* imaged the dynamic of use patterns over time. Territory gave an, albeit transient, physical dimensionality to these three. Together they became a viable means of documenting informal spatial use, giving meaning to such spaces as "home" and an understanding of place. It is critical to note that this expresses functionality, not object; none of these descriptions are static, rhythms are always changing but they have essence of meaning, as is the case with refrains, *milieus* and territories. Though at times obscure, it is this dynamic that gave the methodology its power to understand function. It is this understanding of functionality that gives value to *in situ* upgrading; it allows what planning with tools of static form do not.

This method of seeing space also permitted the inclusion of the intangible forces of political action: loss of hope from waiting; fear from changing land tension; and hope through action. As has been discussed throughout the study, with each of these forces there is a macro influence: waiting with *status quo*; urban competitiveness with land tensions; and popular political agency with hope.

My presence as a researcher in the community led to my participation in the preparation of evidence for the Harry Gwala community's High Court and Constitutional Court cases and the Harry Gwala community layout for *in situ* upgrading project. In both of these situations, I was asked by the community and their legal counsel to use my landscape architecture training to assist their strategies. However, I acknowledge that implied in my consent is an agreement with their cause. In response, I use the same line of argument as Burawoy (2009) that this did not detract from the study, but rather added a further level of understanding. These two projects brought together the relationships between the City/Province and the community; between the informality and the socio-economic rights of South Africa's Constitution; and the dynamic between emotion and space that engages social capital, all of which was discussed in Chapter 08.

section 09.2 Contributions to knowledge

The macro and micro-influences that shape urban development have been brought to light throughout this study. Chapter 02 discussed the impact and scalar quality of development agencies, NGOs and the State. Chapters 03 and 08 reviewed the history of social movements as they relate to informal settlements in South Africa, outlining their values and limits in growing the scale of bottom up development and social justice efforts. Chapter 07 introduced the socio-spatial realities of the residents. The discussion in Chapter 08 suggested that at the core of informal settlement upgrading are the socio-economic rights and transitional character that are the basis of South Africa's Constitution. Elsewhere Sandercock (2003:179) describes this level of socio-urban development as the 'building of *cosmopolis*...a necessarily combined effort, by residents, planners, and politicians'. In the South African context, at stake is whether this 'world-city' is home to global markets or Mandela's racio-economic rainbow. These stakes are high in the local lives of urban shack dwellers; the tragic events of the 2008 xenophobia highlighted the social,

economic and spatial contestations of the urban poor within the realm of their right to the city.

MVRDV (2002:51) suggest that 'If we understand what is happening, and if we conceive and explore alternative futures, we can find opportunities to intervene, sometimes to resist, to organise, to legislate, to plan and to design'. They are speaking to the spatial consequences of the global shift to a capital based, open market friendly world order, and more specifically to the urgent need to develop spatial design strategies that appropriately engage the emerging civic structures and their spatial agendas. In the context of this study, key to the quote is articulating the "we". I have argued throughout this study that the core of that "we" must be the shack dwellers themselves.

This contestation between the top down and bottom up development has the potential to change the course of urban development *vis-à-vis* spatial form in South Africa's cities. Chapter 08 suggested that the shift from a position of hope and waiting to one of action and then hope is an integral part of this. That chapter and the preceding one have outlined the layers of networks that are empowering the community members of Harry Gwala and Makause.

section 09.2.1 How is this study useful to the larger dialog on *in situ* upgrading?

'Such an approach cannot provide precise solutions to clearly defined problems, but, proceeding from an appreciation of the significance of place and the particular activities and local situations, it would perhaps provide a way of outlining some of the main directions and possibilities' (Relph, 1976:146).

This study began as a follow-on from my Masters Degree, which looked at alternative options for sanitation in informal communities, and from my Fulbright Fellowship based at Wits University in Johannesburg, which explored ideas of implementation. I set out to rethink how we evaluate informal settlement as urban neighbourhoods and to produce a pragmatic methodology for *in situ* upgrading, What this looks like is something in line with Relph's description above. As such it differs from much of the current upgrading ideology because of its roots in ethnographic research.. Through this genre of study, the research engaged with informal space/ place using the temporal elements of social and political process. The primary value of this within the urban development arena is the increased volume of the 'urban

informal's' voice. In so doing it serves to balance the scales of knowledge based power between community residents and technocrats. and

This study has attempted to reconceptualise the way in which 'urban formals' (specifically, but not exclusively urban design professionals) understand informal spaces. To this end it has drawn strongly from the work of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) relational language of spatial understanding to unravel and represent informal place. The subsequent methodology responds to several questions, first, what is "home" space? The findings on the morphology of "home" presented in Chapter 07 showed that there is no single generalisable spatial model in the informal context. At first glance this may be deemed a failure of the study, however what was revealed was that differences in such variables as density, social/emotional commitment, community public/private space distribution, and locale foster different patterns of everyday habits that give the value of place to home and in turn define the space. It is this understanding of process through the connection of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) language of the nomad and the notions of social capital that has value, and while not generalisable is potentially transferable to other informal community contexts.

The articulation of social capital as a component of place parallels the connection that Janz (2002:4) makes between mapping and '[p]lace...[as] more than simple location, but less than essence, entitlement, or citizenship'. This connection queries how to represent informal space such that it includes transient tangibles and intangibles. In response the study drew together Mbembe's (2000; 2001) concepts of imbrication and an African specific understanding of boundary with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) concepts of refrain, *milieu* and territory through an examination of informal edge, territory and boundary. This brought to light an understanding of the formal/informal boundary that is not marked by a line of division but rather points of integration. These points were defined by sound, need, consumption, in other words by action.

The use of Eurocentric and Western urban design, planning and space models has been questioned throughout the study (Van Horen, 2000; Liggett, 2009; Narsoo, 2012, among others). My intent has not been to set up a North/South binary, for I question the value of this; instead what I have attempted to do is ground useful conceptual ideas around understanding place in the concrete context of a settlement's location. Janz (2002:7) comments 'that the territory [as defined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987)] cannot be mapped any more than the range of a bird can be mapped'. The influx and outflow in informal populations could be similarly described, as in fact it has been (Monongoaha, 1947; Stadler, 1979; Goldberg, 1996). However as Janz (2002) goes on to explain that through the use of conceptual grids based on the concrete understanding of a birds behaviour you can map where it is likely to go. In saying this he is not implying that the map should be discarded, rather that what it relates to should be rethought (*ibid.*). It is in this light that I suggest the need to shift North/Western design and planning tools. In this way, with a nod to Fanon the mind of the designer is decolonised as well. Here Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the refrain has potential for real spatial power, the challenge is to conceptualise/realise the organising elements within the landscape. The study suggests that as urban designers we can only realise these with appropriate understanding of informal place through participation with the residents.

Recalling South African informal residents' expectation of democratic inclusion going hand in hand with state housing delivery (Pithouse, 2012), it is worth paying particular attention to the levels of political agency shown by Harry Gwala residents in Chapter 08. as part of the their bottom up efforts at development and through the implementation of their layout project. The implication is an avenue to democratic inclusion other than that *via* the State. The potential of this is twofold, first it empowers the active community members, giving them hope; and second the community's actions become the temporal references with which to understand the ongoing development of their place, this speaks directly to Holston's (1998:46) question of how to 'include the ethnographic present in planning'.

This raises the question of the role of the technocrats in the upgrading process. In the Harry Gwala community layout project, I made the decisions to put together a

design team and that the community was our client. The rationale behind this was to give the community the position of power and ownership both in the process and with the final product, the design team was the support. Throughout we listened to them and we heard them. Fellow team member and former resident, Siphethu, and I worked with members of the community to take advantage of my training in documenting existing conditions and call attention to problematic and positive spatial and technical issues. We then used our training to produce the layout to their specification and requirements. Finally, the layout was presented and explained to the community leadership and to the community at large for their approval and they took possession of it. They then scheduled several meetings with the Province, which did not come to pass. Subsequently, the community met with the legal member of the team to take it to the next level in responding to the Constitutional Court's ruling. Is this an example of insurgent planning? I argue that it is, not only because of the process just summarised and described in more detail in Chapter 08, but because the methodology developed in this study, which articulates the residents' own production of space and place directed in this project. By understanding the community spaces through a process which begins with residents' everyday rhythms, refrains, *milieus* and territories it gives power from knowledge to that process.

The understanding of informal settlement through its functionality also moves toward demystifying and de-homogenising the "slum" aesthetic. Looking at the informal settlements from the outside, particularly if you are not familiar with them, they can appear as overwhelming chaos. I have experienced this feeling myself. Perhaps the "slum" aesthetic makes the formalisation and relocation approaches more palatable to cities. But when one meets with the people living there, the residents who are interested in sharing their stories; one begins to understand the level of socio-political functionality that embeds a specific community in a specific location in the city.

section09.2.2 Areas for further study

There are three areas for further study that this work has brought to light. The first regards the Constitutional Court's decision in the 2009 *Nokotyana v. EMM* case, in which the Court stated that the timeframe for development (from the 2006 application

by the City to the Province for upgrading to the time of the case hearing), not the implementation of basic services, was in fact the crux. It would be of worth to consider the spatial consequences of this. The Court termed it a period of limbo but in fact as the socio-political/spatial dynamics in Chapters 07 and 08 show, this would not be spatially true. Could this be another angle from which to address the Courts? As O'Connell (2011) suggests, South Africa's Constitutional Court with the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the Constitution remains a powerful transitional tool for the poor that must not be given up on. It seems that the socio-spatial functionality of informal settlements could be a tool for legal counsel because it could begin to show real-life content to those rights. Pieterse (2007:799) comments that

'In order for this tendency of socioeconomic rights discourse to be effectively countered, constitutional drafters, legislature, litigants, activists, academics and judges must increasingly concentrate on clarifying the concrete content of entitlements embodied by socioeconomic rights and on explicitly linking such content to the actual satisfaction of material need'.

Given this same line of thought, it would be of interest to examine the Court's 'reasonable test' in terms of spatial functionality, which would access the real transformative power of the Constitution.

The second is the examination of the role of urban aesthetic and defamiliarisation in the spatial/political dynamic that can lead to exclusion and the displacement of informality. This would entail a more detailed study of informal settlement edge with a framework based on Heidegger's (1962) concept that inauthenticity is on an equal footing with authenticity; acknowledging the influence of 'they' and reconciling it. Again we can look to Harry Gwala; here is an example of spatial decisions driving political will. As was stated in Chapter 07, EMM has located a major tourist destination adjacent to Harry Gwala, yet the settlement has been there for decades. Currently, there seems to be very little political will behind the upgrading of Harry Gwala. Is there a resident-led design opportunity here? How can this potential be tabled effectively to the City, perhaps through safety/economics/aesthetics?

The third is the further study of how the dynamic of hope-waiting-impatience/protest is expressed in space. The framework of such a study would be the differing roles of protest/criminalisation and participation/empowerment. What are the spatial consequences? One aspect of the Harry Gwala layout project that I did not bring into

this study was the event of a major street protest, a blocking of roads and *toyitoyiing*, by the residents of both the informal settlement and the adjacent township of Wattville, to demand improved socio-economic rights. Several of the Harry Gwala residents were arrested and charged with destruction of property; these residents denied being in the area where the alleged property destruction took place. Mr Nokotyana was arrested and charged with attempted murder around the time of the Nokotyana v. EMM case, all charges were later dropped. How does this added layer of criminalising the pursuit for socio-economic rights (which is being reported all over South Africa) impact urban development and settlement upgrading?

Conclusion

The starting theory for this study was that informal settlements are places, and that their socio-cultural character must be preserved in the upgrading process because of the inherent value toward social capital. Burawoy (2009) contends that part of the research process must be to 'extend' theory. In the case of this study, that process has included the examination of global economic principles and development trends; a review of informality in the international and South African literature; an understanding of what has shaped informality in South Africa in the context of the country's legacy of segregated urban form; relevant conceptual thinking on place; and how informal residents in two settlements in Ekurhuleni use space. The resultant extended theory is: Informal space is produced as a consequence of tangible connections to the formal city, and informal place is produced through the social and political actions of the informal residents; both of these parallel the socio-economic rights guaranteed in South Africa's Constitution and a democratic right to the city and therefore must be a part of the upgrading process.

Healey (2004) comments on a need to 're-imagine' the city. Miraftab (2009:45) advocates that 'An "upside-down" look at the world of development allows that perhaps the deep informality of third world cities is not their failure, but...a triumphant sign of their success in resisting the Western models of planning and urban development'. The findings of this study reflect that in fact informal space does not align with Western models. This disjuncture of need with design perhaps points to the lack of empowerment resulting from current development strategies in that

tradition. The findings do show that there is a connection between political agency, hope and space and that this is a source of empowerment. It is this confrontation between space and democracy that can perhaps realign urban design.

A further strength of the method presented in this thesis study is that it does not dictate response. In the case of Harry Gwala the community is moving toward *in situ* upgrading with the diversity of stands and spaces left largely in tact; however, as Todes *et al.* (2003) point out, there is a need for variety in the housing response, other communities may not want this strategy. Walker's (2001:3) theory that I began with states that housing is a 'highly cultural activity', which implies diversity; therefore it would indeed be 'strange if the production of informal housing were [any] different'.

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Mokgosi, Mr. A. (13 July 2010) Director, Human Settlements Property and Institutional Support, Housing Department, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Ekurhuleni.

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Appendix A

Human Research Ethics Committee clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

R14/49/1 Kornienko

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER H080722

PROJECT

Engaging informal settlement as landscapes of place: Reconceptualising urban communities in the struggle for *In Situ* upgrading

INVESTIGATORS

Mrs KA Kornienko

DEPARTMENT

Architecture

DATE CONSIDERED

11.07.2008

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE*

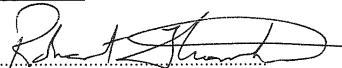
Approved Unconditionally

NOTE:

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE 16.07.2008

CHAIRPERSON

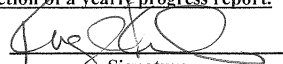

(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Supervisor : Ms M Huchzermeyer

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to a completion of a yearly progress report.**


Signature

This ethical clearance is valid for two years from date of approval.

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix B

Interview tables from Harry Gwala (2008 and 2010) and Makause (2008 and 2010)

Harry Gwala 2008	male	female	owner occupation	renter	extended family	age +40 years	age -40 years
Catriene Mdlalose (1)		X married	x business selling chickens			x	
Elizabeth Motemo		x married	x		x 2 generations	x	
Fikile Nkosi		x married	x			x	
Ivy Mtshengulane		x single	x			x	
John Dumsane Simelane (1)	x married		x				x
Ntombithini Mayisela		x married	x		x multi generation		x
Theindi Shabalala		x married	x				x
Doris Maselela (1)		x married	x				x
Leonard Nogobela	x married		x				x
Lucas Mhlongo	x married		x		x same generation		x
Miriam Gwala		x married	x			x	
Mr and Mrs Wilson Khumalo	x married	x married	x		x adult son	x	
Scott Jama (1)	x single		x		x adult son	x	
Simon Mosiza	x married		x				x
Thokozile Madonsela		x married	x		x 2 generations		x

Harry Gwala 2010	male	female	owner occupation	renter	extended family	age +40 years	age -40 years
Alvina Ngwenya		x single	x		x grandchild	x	
John Dumsane Simelane (2)	x married		x		x same generation		x
Catriene Mdlalose (2)		x married	x business selling chickens			x	
Lina Mkhwanazi		x widow	x			x	
Lucky and Bosile		x married with 5 children	x				x
Martha Maphanga		x single her children plus she has taken in children	x				x
Mbuso Mkhwanazi	x		x living with parents				x HG youth about 20
Susan Mobela		x married	x		x grandchild		x
Unice Mkhwanazi		x married	x business selling coal				x
Sacom Tsela		x married	x				x
Scott Jama (2)	x single		x business selling drinks and snacks		x adult son	x	
Sipho Ntuse	x single		x			x	
Doris Maselela (2)		x married	x				x
Martha Mojapelo		x married	x				x
Bazino	x married		x			x	

Makaase 2008	male	female	owner occupation	renter	extended family	age +40 years	age -40 years
Nancy Maapola		x married	x		visits		x
Anonymous 3		x single			adult son and grandchildren	x	
Bedhithwe Audrey Nejqono		x married one child		x			x
Nomsa Khoza (1)		x single	x		children at rural home		x
Bukhosibak he Mflatelwa (1)	x married		x spaza shop				x
Noawoyakhe Madiba Mphambo (1)	x married		x spaza shop			x	
Ronald Makgwarela (1)	x married		x		children		x
Wonder-Boy Nkosi	x		x		brothers		x
Elizabeth Zikalala		x married	x			x	
Lee Anne Maddens (1)		x single		x			x
Mnisi Tacuson (c)	x married		x		children		x
Vusi Thela (1)	x married		x tuck shop		children		x
Harriet Sekhejane							
Innocent Sima	x		x				x

Makaase 2010	male	female	owner occupation	renter	extended family	age +40 years	age -40 years
Lee Anne Maddens (2)		x single		x			x
Noawoyakhe Madiba Mphambo (2)	x married		x spaza shop			x	
Bukhosibak he Mflatelwa (2)	x married		x spaza shop				x
Ronald Makgwarela (2)	x married				children		x
Nomsa Khoza (2)		x single (lives with boyfriend)	x		children at rural home		x
Precious Mjoli		x single	x			x	
Tandiwe Majali		x divorced			4 children	x	
Elizabeth Zwane		x single	x		son and grand children	x	
Margarett Makhwange ni		x single		x	children		x
Vusi Thela (2)	x married		x tuck shop		children		x
Alfred "General" Moyo (2)	x married		x				x

Appendix C

Harry Gwala community layout project (10 design boards)